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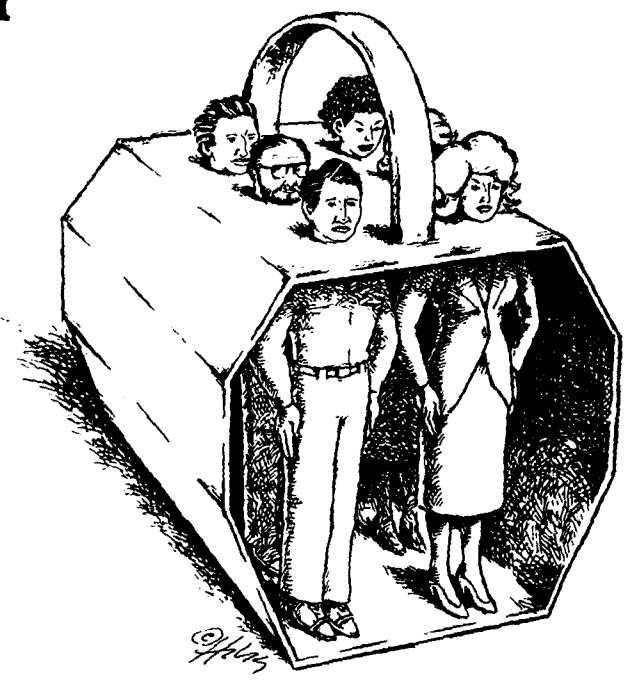
The Progressive Review

WHY JUST BUILDING NUCLEAR BOMBS CAN DESTROY THE EARTH



The fantasy of Star Wars

A conversation with Jonathon Porritt Author of "Seeing Green"

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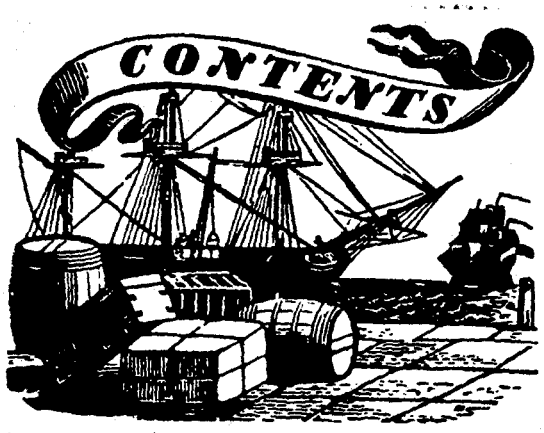

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Health as a target

Nicaraguan health clinics, schools and other social service centers have been singled out for destruction by U.S.-backed "contras" seeking to overthrow the Sandinista government, according to a report released by a group of U.S. doctors who have visited Nicaragua with recent delegations.

The report claims that it is the contras' "policy" to attack "health facilities and social services finally enjoyed by the rural poor." Their report, "Health and the War Against Nicaragua, 1981-1984," states that since 1981 contra attacks have destroyed 63 health units, 50 schools, 125 social service centers and two million dollars worth of medical equipment.

The report was issued by the Central American Health Rights Network, a coalition of 50 organizations based at medical centers throughout the United States. Much of the information comes from a delegation sponsored by the American Medical Students Association and a colloquium of U.S. and Nicaraguan health professionals which was held in Managua last Fall.

According to the group, the kidnapping, torture, rape and murder of health workers and teachers is the tactic the contras use to intimidate both the providers and the recipients of crucial services.

As a result of threats from the contras, health providers in remote areas must now hide their literature and bury their supplies to avoid attracting attention. Eight hundred adult education centers have been closed, the construction of 2,000 rural homes has been halted, and 140,000 Nicaraguans have been made refugees. In one neighborhood in Managua, 25 percent of all mental patients suffer from war-related depression, often due to the loss of a family member.

After a French and a German doctor were killed in early 1983, all foreign health professionals working in war zones were reassigned to safer areas. In January 1985, four health workers arriving in an Atlantic coast island-village to carry out a vaccination campaign were kidnapped. Predictably, residents of war zones experience increased incidence of diarrhea, malnutrition and malaria.

Despite the contras' efforts, Nicaragua has made strides in health care over the past five years. The portion of the population with access to modern health care has risen from 28 percent to more than 80 percent. Infant mortality has fallen from 121 to 73 per 1,000 live births. Measles and rabies have nearly disappeared, and polio has been eliminated. In contrast, neighboring Honduras, which has received tens of millions of dollars in economic aid from the U.S., has recently experienced a polio epidemic.

Book ban lifted

Any book "which speaks slightingly of the founders of the republic or of those who preserved the union or which belittles or undervalues their work" was

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banned as a text for American history or government classes in Oregon public schools until recently. ACLU of Oregon has won a six-year challenge to that law. The prohibition has been held unconstitutional. The case had been dismissed in federal district court but sent back by a Ninth Circuit ruling that student plaintiffs did have standing.

The Killing fields

Amnesty International, in its annual report on the death penalty, said it knows of 1,513 people in more than 40 countries who were executed in 1984, but said it is impossible to give a complete total because many governments keep information secret or fail to provide complete figures.

There were hundreds of examples of violations of safeguards approved last year by the United Nations to protect the rights of prisoners facing the death penalty, A.I. said, as it urged the Seventh U.N. Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, meeting in August, to approve measures to implement those safeguard. These include the rights to fair trial, defense by a lawyer of the defendant's choice, and appeal to a higher court.

Highlights of the report:

- China had 292 executions, but its reports were from urban centers only.
- The worldwide trend to abolition continued as Western Australia, the last Australian state retaining the death penalty for ordinary offenses, banned it. In each previous year since 1975, at least one country abolished it.
- At year's end, 27 governments had abolished the death penalty for all offenses, and 19 had ended it for all but extraordinary offenses, such as certain wartime crimes. Of the 130 countries which keep it, many have not executed anyone for years.
- The United Nations General Assembly has twice, in 1971 and 1977, affirmed the desirability of abolishing the death penalty.
- Iran had reports of 661 executions, but many more actually occurred.
- For Iraq, A.I. was unable to confirm reports of hundreds of executions, so published no figures.

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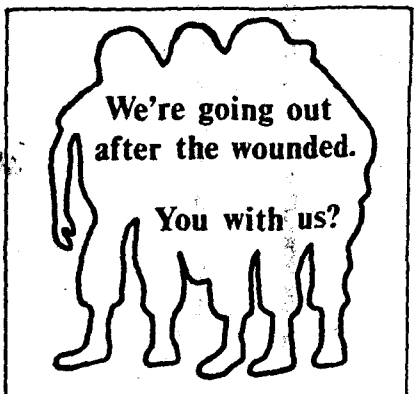

When we got back to the world some of us made out alright. Some didn't. They were wounded by something only a few can understand. Those who understand may be the best equipped to help. We cannot leave our brothers out there. *You with us?*

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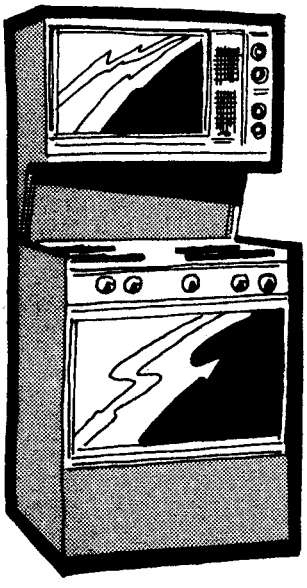

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• United States had more than 1400 people under sentence of death and had 21 executions.

• In Nigeria, where more than 110 prisoners were executed last year, at least 66 were put to death after trials before special tribunals with no right of appeal.

• In South Africa, at least 114 people were executed; all but three of them from the black or "coloured" (mixed race) groups.

• In other countries, people were executed for non-violent crimes such as pornography, smuggling, theft, and bribery.

Farm suicides

A bumper crop of midwestern farm failures is producing a bitter harvest: suicides. University of Missouri sociologist Rex Campbell says the agricultural suicide rate has been growing at an alarming rate—up 50 percent in just two years. And he says the increase has been almost entirely among debt-ridden farmers under the age of 40. And University of Michigan researcher Jeanne Gordus says suicide rates can shoot 30 times higher in areas where factories have shut down. She says the shutdowns have other adverse effects, including increased homicides, family breakups, heart disease and other illness.

Private drugbusters

Within a couple of years, you may not be able to land a good job without passing a drug use test. That prediction comes from the chief pharmacologist at the National Institute on Drug Abuse, Michael Walsh. He says the tests—already used by one out of four of the biggest companies in America—may be "the ultimate prevention device." There is widespread agreement that drug abuse is a big problem, costing businesses up to $40 million a year in lost productivity. But there are questions about the accuracy and constitutionality of the tests. For example, two Navy doctors were almost drummed out of the service after tests showed them to be morphine users. They weren't: the tests were positive because both of them ate too many poppy-seed bagels. The American Civil Liberties Union says all the workplace testing "borders on hysteria" and that "employers are now assuming the functions of law enforcement."

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Another gas shortage

A new report from the Worldwatch Institute is warning that the 1990s may see a return to long lines at the gas station and odd-even rationing. The report says that, at the present rate of production, US oil reserves will last only about nine years. Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, is sitting on about a hundred-year supply. As western production declines, the study says, OPEC will once again be back in the driver's seat. The study urges continued development of alternative energy sources like coal and natural gas, even if they're not cost-efficient in today's marketplace.

Meanwhile, without congressional action, tax credits for renewable energy and conservation expire on Dec. 31. Today, renewable energy provides nearly 10% of U.S. energy (more than twice the contribution of the heavily subsidized nuclear industry) while conservation and efficiency improvements essentially supply 21% through savings, according to the Solar Lobby.

Fish go organic

The U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service has given the official nod to organic farming methods in updated guidelines issued to managers of its national wildlife refuge system. The 49-state system includes more than 425 refuge units covering nearly 90 million acres. The habitat management section of the official refuge manual now calls for "biological farming" with a legume-based crop rotation as the preferred cropland management system.

"Biological farming results in reduced energy consumption, reduced soil erosion, reduced use of pesticides and synthetic nitrogenous fertilizers, reduced water pollution, reduced health hazards to employees and cooperating farmers, reduced requirements for capital, reduced economic risk, improved soil tilth and fertility, increased biological

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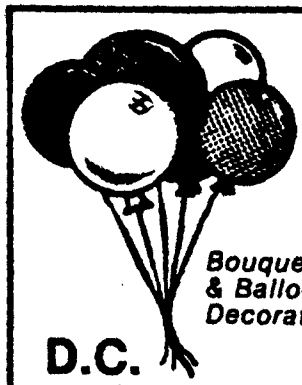

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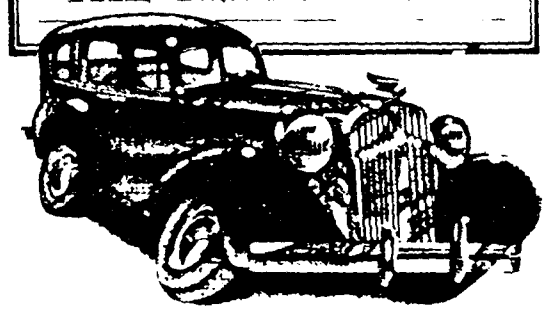

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THROUGH A NEW ART FORM Artist Roger Henry has discovered the physical existence of the human soul, when applied to the message of Jesus it causes physical manifestation. 2252 Westchester Ave. Bronx, New York 10462. Because this discovery sounds too impossible it is being blocked.

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According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a typical poverty-level family has seen its social security and federal income taxes go from $134 to $1147 in the past seven years. Says director Robert Greenstein, "The federal government is taxing away a significant amount of income from people who, by its own definition, do not have enough to live on. The tax burdens of working poor families are the highest in recent memory.

< >

The city aldermanic board of New Haven, Conn., has voted to make that town a "port free of embargo," as an expression of its opposition to Reagan's Nicaraguan trade embargo.

diversity, and increased production of wildlife," the refuge manual points out. "Managers should strive to convert to biological farming with consideration for biological and economic restraints." —*Alternative Agriculture News*

Gay immigrants

Immigration officials will have to come up with a medical exam that indicates homosexuality, according to US District Judge Robert Aguilar. Ruling on a request for injunction filed by the Gay-Lesbian Freedom Day Committee, Aguilar refused to issue the injunction against excluding homosexuals from entering the US, but said a "meaningful medical examination" would be required.

Stalling on peace studies

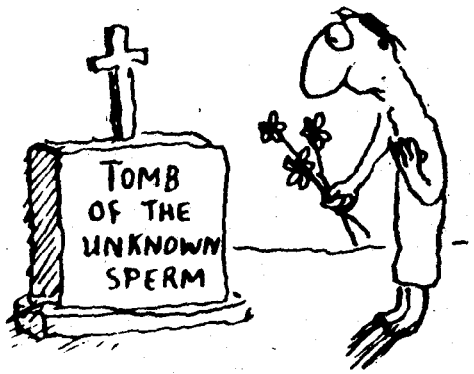
Critics are accusing the Reagan administration of using passive resistance to scuttle the National Institute for Peace Studies set up by Congress. The president has yet to name anyone to its board of directors, effectively freezing its $4-million budget allocation. Supporters of the institute say the bill originally passed because it was attached to a military authorization. Now, says representative Dan Glickman, "the President is violating a law that he signed himself." The White House denies the charges, saying the nominations have to be cleared first and that process hasn't been completed.

Arming the world

Recently released statistics show that arms sales to the Third World by NATO countries and their allies have far outstripped arms sales by Warsaw Pact countries. In fact, during every year since 1977, the socialist nations have come in second in weapon sales to the Third World. Statistics prepared by the Congressional Research Service show that during Jimmy Carter's presidency, NATO and its allies had 61% of all weapon sales to the Third World, which totaled $120.4 billion. During Ronald Reagan's first term as president, 1981 to 1984, total sales of arms to the Third World increased by 15% to $139.1 billion, with NATO and allied countries holding on to their 61% share of the total.

•

The number of female senior administrators at U.S. schools soared by 90 percent between 1975 and 1983, says the American Council on Education.



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A conversation with Jonathon Porritt

Author of "Seeing Green"

Jonathon Porritt is the author of the newly published Seeing Green: The Politics of Ecology Explained. director of the British Friends of the Earth and a leading spokesman for Britain's Ecology Party. His book (Basil Blackwell) is a fine, highly readable, guide to green politics. Porritt was recently in the United States and towards the beginning of his tour discussed the green movement with me. What follows are excerpts from that conversation —s.s.

What are some of the difference among the various green movements in Europe?

In those countries that have proportional representation you will usually find the green movement is led or most seriously influenced by the political party — by the Green Party. So that in Belgium, Holland, Germany, the green movement's center is in the Green parties. in other countries where the electoral system is not based on proportional representation, the green movement has taken on a far broader spectrum of different groups. The green parties there are just one part of that movement.

In the United Kingdom, for example, where the green movement, to be honest, is only beginning to gather real steam, there's been a two or three year period where people have been testing the waters to see whether or not there is such a thing as the green movement and establishing the common ground between the old-fashioned environmental movement, peace movement, Third World groups, human rights groups, and putting together a very interesting loose coalition along these lines. And the Ecology Party, which is Britain's Green Party, is just one part of that movement. It is not the movement.

What makes a party green?

If they just put up a platform where they have six items and one of them is ecology, then to a certain extent they've missed the point that all of your platform essentially needs to stand for the premise of certain ecological principles. So it really depends on the prioritizing of the ideas of ecology. A real green party will say, right, there are certain natural laws to be translated into complimentary ecological principles concerning our relationship with the rest of the planet and the need to live in harmony with the rest of the planet so far as that is possible. And from that, the rest of green politics fairly naturally flow. You can't talk about living in harmony with the planet unless you are making very radical statements, for instance, about the distribution of wealth between the north and the south. I mean there is no such notion of harmony tolerating the death of 400 children a day in Third World countries. (You must discuss) a complete reversal of the arms buildup and a disengagement from the arms trade. The word harmony then takes on a very radical

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orientation, instead of being a rather comfortable, soft, middle-class word.

There seems an almost religious quality to the green movement.

In many ways the green movement is not conventionally political. It tends to deal more with ideas and values and to address itself to that level as much as to the level of political engagement. And that's got to be, in my mind. I can not see some of the ideas for a better way of life coming about unless the attitudes and values of the people are encouraged to change. There's only so much you can graft onto the dominant philosophy today; there's only so much reform you can bring about unless you bring profound change.

As you begin your tour of America you've already met with some greens here. Any impressions?

I was interested to see that the only model of green politics with which they are familiar is that of die Grunen. There's a lot of knowlege about what's been going on there. There's very little knowledge of what's been happening elsewhere. I am a little apprehensive about that. die Grunen do offer one very interesting model for the development of green politics but only one and a lot of us in the green movement in Europe have reservations about the way that they choose to do some of their green politics and with some of the positions they've come up with as a result. For instance, die Grunen would very clearly see themselves as on the left in politics and they would state that overtly. Greens in the rest of Europe, in most other countries, would tend to disassociate themselves from the left and rightness of politics inasmuch as they would see that as part of the problem and not part of the solution and would find an orientation for radical politics, for progressive politics, that did not have to fall into the categories of whether you were on the right or the left, because our critique of industrialism embraces both the industrialism of the left and the industrialism of the right.

You can quite legitimately trace back the history of socialism in such a way that the industrial malpractices performed in the name of socialism today are seen as nothing to do with the original antecedents of socialism. I know that argument very well and I agree with it. And some of the best roots of green thinking come from early decentralist, libertarian socialism. There's no question about that. But what is done in the name of socialism today has as little to do with green politics as what is done is done in the name of capitalism. So we're not terribly happy with the over-identification of green politics with the left because it actually works as a barrier to the growth of green politics and it means you have to pick up all of that historical baggage that comes with socialism and try to green it. And that, frankly, is not worth the time it takes.

So I was a bit worried in New York. There was a very strong sense of identification with the German greens and a lack of awareness about the development of green politics elsewhere. They're going through that stage of ferment where all sorts of people are joining it but not necessarily because they've worked out what green is but because they feel a deep sense of grievance about one issue or another issue or a general sense of sort of disaffection.

It would seem there to be considerable historical precedent for a green movement in the States: Emerson, Thoreau and so forth.

I would have thought if the greens were to establish themselves here there would be any number of historical messages they could be drawing from their own back yard. Given the climate of opinion in America at the moment, it would be a very important part of the growth of the green politics to trace that green line back through American thought and philosophy.

How do you deal with the considerable political apathy one finds today?

There are two things that have made a big difference in Europe. The first is the very strong orientation towards decentralist, grassroots politics and although there are always national levels of green politics the real impetus is always at the grassroots level. That has meant that right from the start green politics has had very little truck with some of the imperatives of centralism, so it is able to mobilize people on local concerns within a broader green framework. And I think it is able to demonstrate that the business of engaging in a more participatory democracy is something that people will actually benefit from. We found it's not much good telling them it's a duty that they've got to, as a good citizen or human being, become more active in their local concerns. We've found that that cuts no ice at all. But if one can actually demonstrate that they can actually benefit from more active engagement in the decisions that really do affect them and they can see a spin-off from that, then the way is open to bring people back to a more active engagement. I'm not saying that happens overnight. I think we've reached a very worrying stage of political apathy in which it doesn't much matter what politics you're bringing to people, they would

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prefer to remain passive recipients of the political system.

How do you deal with pragmatism vs. idealism in the actions of the movement?
From my way of thinking of things, I think you have to accept whatever ways of infiltrating the political system you can. I'm afraid that I'm ruthlessly pragmatic at this level. If one can persuade politicians who are already active in the other parties to embrace 50-60% of the message we've got, and to work it through in their politics — not just to pay lip service, then that's damn sight better than having nobody in that party doing it. The solutions won't come through those people in those established parties but they will help to create a climate of opinion in which other changes can then materialize. So I do believe in the business of green established politics. I know in this country that is going to have to be one of the ways in which things happen because if you're starting out from scratch with this brave new green world and you've got the whole of the rest of the establishment and vested interests and the media, and all of these have to be won over, then you're not going to do it by a very exclusive, confrontational, absolutist position all the way down the line. You're going to have to say so-and-so is not absolutely what we'd like to see, but the position they take or this, that or the other is better than the position that so-and-so's taking. And I think that an element of gradualism in a political system such as this is inevitable.

There's no one prescription as to how this will come about. The green movement in the UK, for instance, is unashamedly pragmatic. It says that while the Ecology Party is growing but cannot establish itself in the electoral system it's important to find ways of getting politicians in the Labor Party and the Liberal Party to think green. It's important to put pressure on decision-makers at other levels, to talk to church leaders, to talk to trade union leaders, to talk to media people in particular, to try to get across something of the green orientation.

The American organizer Saul Alinsky once said that when the poor get power they will be shits like eveyone else. Is this true of greens as well?

Most of the people who I know in the green movement do not like politics. They find themselves almost against their wills becoming engaged in it because they believe there's no option not to be engaged in it. They therefore are very reluctant political animals with deep misgivings about much of what constitutes politics and the ways that politics has to be done — with a very important sort of fear about their vulnerability and the ease with which people can be corrupted once they go into politics. I honestly have met so few shits in the green movement that I am confident the motivation that brings people to green politics is different from — not superior to — that which brings people into other forms of political activity.

How far can decentralism go?

I often have fairly fairly vociferous debates with some of the more out and out decentralists, people who are the reincarnation of the old anarchist community, the autonomous community, who automatically assume that in the process of moving towards that level of organization human nature will somehow become better. The historical evidence is pretty scanty, frankly.

If green politics were the dominant politics what would be the style of governing?

I think that some of the ways that we're trying to establish our own internal organization would give an indication. Again, a note of caution here, it often makes politics that much harder. If one looks at the internal chaos of the Green party in Germany one

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realizes some of the costs imposed on people if they try to do their politics differently. And in Germany, for instance, there's a basic sort of notion that decision should be taken by consensus rather than by vote. This has not led to greater harmony; this has led to most astonishing amount of aggression and unpleasantness with each other that you could imagine. But there is a clear idea that those problems have to be worked through by compromise rather than by conflict politics. That is a spin-off of our commitment to the politics of non-violence and that any solutions that are to be found in terms of world politics must embrace non-violence. There are other things. Most green parties have a restriction on the amount of influence that any one person can gain within the party. They have a rotation principle. We have a rule in our party if anybody does get elected there's no way the party can tell them how to vote. They are not dragooned into voting the green line. Because as soon as you get into that you've lost the notion of the person's right or ability to represent other people because all they're doing is representing the party line. So I think that things like this, experimental at the moment, are crucial indicators.

Why isn't there more of a green movement in America?

It's a little surprising that things haven't developed here faster. For instance, a lot of us in Europe have been nurtured on the thinking of American greens. One thinks of people like Theodore Roszak, Hazel Henderson, Murray Bookchin, people who have provided a vast part of the building up of the philosophy of green politics and the holistic side of green politics. And yet, in terms of a movement coming from that in America, it's relatively underdeveloped. So there is for us a contradiction here: a lot of the thinking has gone on over here rather than in Europe and yet to date there's no proportionate level of activity flowing from that.

How does the media treat you?

To start with, there was, if not derision, a sort of condescending note of patronage if one was allowed to appear on a radio or tv program. You were thought to be very fortunate to be given this chance. There was the fairly standard number of jokes about greens, what we ate and how we dressed, all these kinds of silly jokes, belittling jokes, attempts to put down for lack of understanding. And over the years, thank God, that has actually changed. I'm not saying that we've got a clean image break-through but there's no doubt no that greens are treated with respect in the media and are not subject to that kind of belittling approach. It's still the case that we're not given adequate coverage and not given fair coverage in any respect, but then that's not terribly surprising.

It strikes me that in America the media represents the extremist middle.

I think the extremist in the center is a real problem for politics today. And it's always seems that those who gather comfortably around the middle ground of politics, the safe ones, somehow they are the one's doing their bit as good upstanding citizens, not taking any extreme positions and so on. In many ways the real danger stems from them, not from the extremists on the right or the left. And that's something that is very difficult to get across to people because there is this notion that one of the best ways to move forward is by diminishing the differences, finding what it is that allows everybody to share this common ground. Now the simple fact may be that it is that common ground that is corrupt and in that case all you're doing is bringing together an ever larger group of people who belong to ever more degraded kind of ecological niche, as it were, and that is very dangerous. And I certainly see that happening at the moment in a lot of European countries.

We have this metaphor of a three-lane motorway. People often take the position that, yes, they don't like the left and they don't like the right and so they'll just travel along in the middle. The motorway is heading in the same direction and it's the whole motorway, not just the right and the left and middle lane. And if that motorway is moving towards what we see to be an abyss of unsustainable industrial expansion, then who cares what lane you're in; you're still going over the edge.

One of the things people seem to be clinging to is a rather outmoded concept of the nation-state that is being eroded by, among other things, by quasi-nations such as world organizations, huge multinationals and so forth.

Green politics is definitely in the business of thinning down the nation-state. A lot of the things we're talking about are dependent on shifting the balance of power down to the local level, but at the same time shifting more of the power base to the international area rather than to the nation state. Many of the problems that greens are talking about can only be resolved at the international level. It really is the key to the shape of politics of the future. There's no doubt about that. As to whether or not this process is being assisted by the growth of these quasi-international power bases of the moment I have grave reservations. I don't frankly think the model of internationalism that we would move to would have much to do with the power of

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multi-nationals and indeed the world organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF. Even, I'm afraid, the United Nations, which for all its good intentions is still desperately incompetent.

What about the struggle between capitalism and communism?

Is capital in the old-fashioned sense going to remain a feature of the world's future? I don't' actually think the politics of ecology are compatible with the politics of capitalism as they are presently shaped, because the politics of capitalism are premised on the notion of permanent expansion and permanent growth and the politics of ecology are premised on the notion of constraints and sustainability. And there must come a certain point when one or the other of those two fundamental ethics is going to become dominant.

To my mind capitalism and communism are embraced in the same super-ideology of industrialism. Although we are brought up to think of the world in terms of the polarity of capitalism and communism, frankly it's a pseudo-polarity because the things that those two ideologies have in common are infinitely more important than the things that separate them. If one looks at the super-ideology of industrialism, it is dominant at the moment and what the greens are doing are mere pin pricks in the defenses of that ideology. It isn't that the greens are working in a vacumn, though. The greens are also working within the knowledge of the finite constraints of the planet. And our thesis runs that at a certain point the ideology of industrialism will be up against so many of these biological, ecological and human constraints which are becoming evermore apparent that the premise will have to change.

Now that is going to be an extremely dodgey moment. And that is the moment of history that I look forward to with a mixture of real enthusiasm and dread. Because at that point, two things could happen. We either adopt the range of libertarian, ecological solutions that are now developing in green politics or we end up with a sort of ecological totalitarianism because the break-down of society will be so great — the dislocation caused by moving from one paradigm to another, would be so traumatic that many people would respond by calling for increased authoritarian controls, erosion of democratic freedoms, trampling on human rights, etc. — ending up in totalitarian systems of control in which ecology would be imposed on people. To me an ecological way of organizing human society is inevitable. I mean I don't see any option. Whether it's this generation or two generations away. Ultimately we must learn to live within the finite constraints of the planet. It's not worth debating that, frankly. What is worth debating is how we actually work towards that, how we bring that about. And that to me is the rub of green politics of the moment.

Men who worked in clerical jobs in 1983 earned an average of $362 a week while women in those same occupations earned an average of $249 a week. Women clerical workers' wages were 68.8% of men's. Even when men and women worked in the same job category, male earnings were still higher than female earnings.

Job	Average Weekly Earnings		Women's Wages As a Percent Of Men's Wages
	Men	Women	
Information clerks	$303	$221	72.9%
Computer equipment operators	303	221	72.9%
Secretaries, stenographers and typists	340	250	73.5%
Adjusters and investigators	404	258	63.9%
Clerical supervisors	477	307	64.4%

National Commission on Working Women

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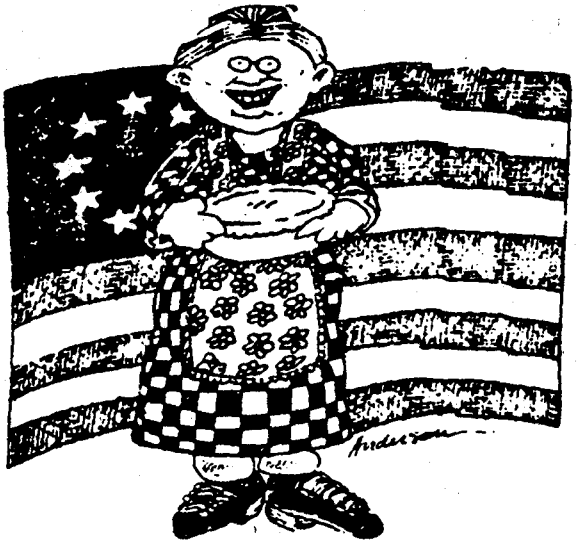

Apple Pie

A federal district judge has sentenced draft resister David A. Wayte to house arrest and prohibited him from doing community service during his probation, saying that the ban would be a grave punishment for a socially conscious person.

The University of Arizona is testing its cheerleaders for drugs according to the Chronicle of Higher Education.

Asked why Estonian youths prefer foreign T-shirts, A. Kapral of Marat Production Association is quoted in Izvestia as saying, "Humor on T-shirts is totally incomprehensible to our design council."

Scientists in the Soviet Union say beards and moustaches soak up air pollution, causing a buildup of unhealthy chemicals in the body. Among smokers, the problem is even worse: a full beard and moustache can boost toxic intake to 50 times acceptable levels.

Do you know Sojourner Truth's slave name? How about the location of the Tuskegee Institute? You can test yourself on questions like these thanks to a new card game on black heritage, called "Rise 'n Fly."

Linda Olds, a Delaware microbiologist, developed the game last year when she discovered her 10-year-old son knew almost nothing about the civil rights movement. She quit her job soon after that and founded a company to produce the game, which tests players on their knowledge of history, lifestyles, sports, and music and arts.

Olds says she hopes her game will provide more than just an evening's worth of fun and education. To that end, she says she will plow back into the black community a percentage of the game's profits, perhaps as scholarships for high school seniors. Olds has already given a thousand dollar check to the Martin Luther King Center for Non-violent Social Change in Atlanta.

Oh, by the way, Sojourner Truth's slave name was Isabel Baumfree, and the Tuskegee Institute is in Alabama.

For more info, write Olds, Ogden and Johnson, 14 Weldin Park Drive, Wilmington, DE 19803. The game costs $32.00 including postage and handling.

33-year-old Jim Schultz of Athens, Ohio, was turned down for a job by the local fire department for being over the maximum age of 30. But when he went to file an age discrimination complaint, the equal opportunity folks told him he had to be at least 40 years old.

The publishers of "Power Lunching" have just come out with a new book designed to show preteens how wonderful it is to make a lot of money. "Ernie Discovers Excellence" is aimed at 7-to-12-year-olds. It's the story of young Ernie, who starts out afraid of big business, but finally declares, "When I grow up, I'll be part of a great company that creates all sorts of things customers will love." Author Lewis Lazare says his aim was to fill a gap in children's literature. Before this, he claims, "there had not been any books specifically encouraging them to be businessmen."

Gesture of the Month

Herb Caen reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle* that 4,000 dancers would be swaying in silence, each wearing a Sony Walkman tuned to radio station KALX, playing four hours of dance music. This scene was to take place at a UC-Berkeley dormitory, in order to get around a new edict against amplified music.

—The Realist

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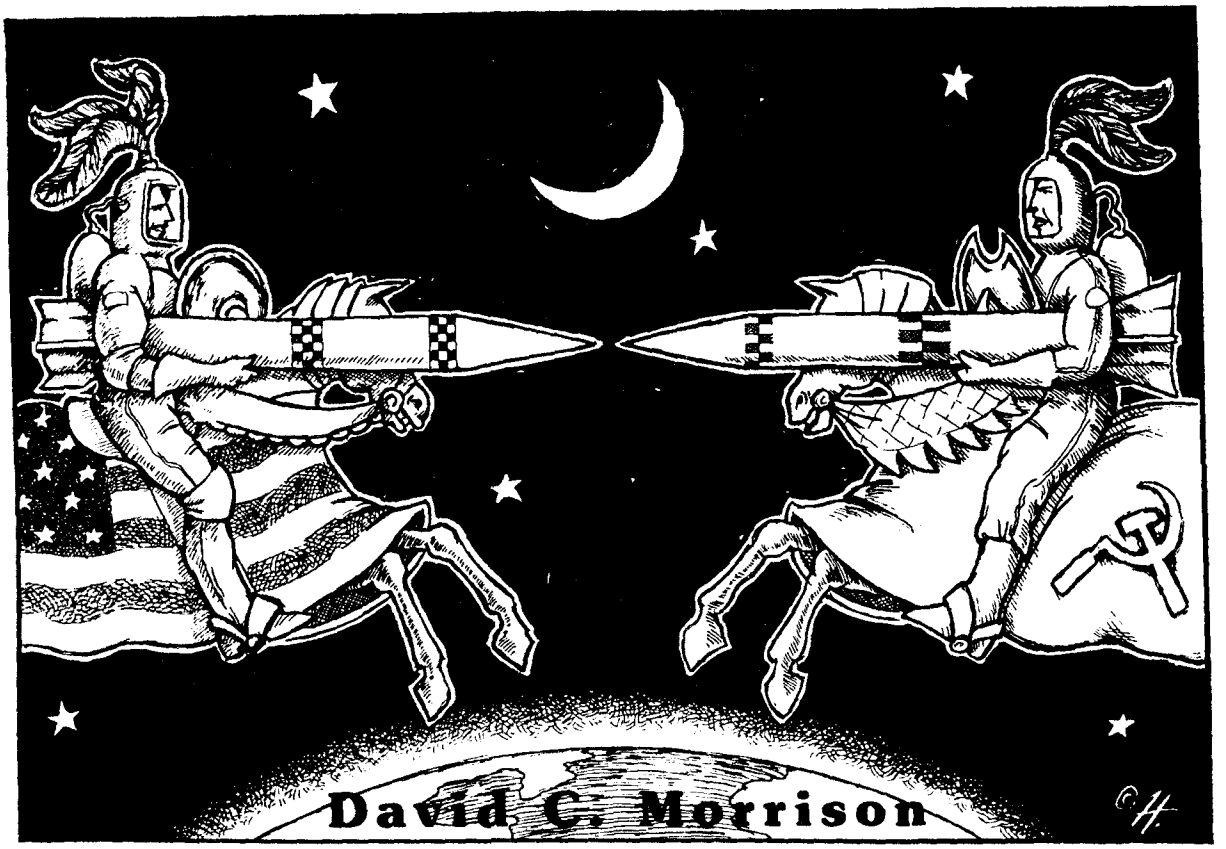

THE FANTASY OF STAR WARS

David C. Morrison is a senior research analyst at the Center for Defense Information in Washington, D.C.

One popular image of how a "Star Wars" space defense system might work is the one we see in the animated graphics on tv news—a sleek laser battle station, emblazoned with the stars and stripes, glides into view just as two or three missiles, marked with the hammer and sickle, rise on the horizon. The U.S. laser goes Zaaappp! and the Soviet missiles vanish in the clean, scintillating laser light.

While all this happens, the earth below continues to spin serenely, seemingly unaffected by the celestial battle.

"They not only make it look easy," comments space scientist Carl Sagan, "they actually make it look like fun."

While no one yet knows precisely what the proposed orbiting missile shield will look like, it is safe to predict that a "Star Wars" battle will be neither easy nor fun. For a variety of reasons, it is clear that battles fought in space will not be sanitary affairs, leaving the earth and its inhabitants unscathed.

Instead of the handful of Soviet missiles we see on the television screen, defensive satellites would have to cope with as many as 1,400 ICBMs, each traveling at 15,000 miles an hour. Within ten minutes after an attack began, these fleet targets would multiply into some 100,000 pieces—warheads, decoys and booster fragments.

Obviously, tracking this many objects would be a Herculean task. The North American Aerospace Defense Command has its hands full today simply cataloguing the 5,400 identifiable pieces of space trash already orbiting Earth. Star Warriors would face a far greater challenge—electronically winnowing 100,000 space objects and separating the decoys from the live warheads.

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Once that is accomplished, the really tough job begins. Each of the thousands of warheads will have to be "zapped" by complex orbiting weapons which use directed energy, like lasers. Even if a warhead is found and hit, there would be no certainty that it had been "killed." The fact that 40 percent of the $1.4 billion going for Star Wars research this year is devoted to work on this problem indicates how serious it is.

Damage inflicted by a particle beam or microwave generator, two of the types of energy weapons under study, "might not be visible," Ashton Carter, a Mass. Institute of Technology physicist, noted in a recent Congressional study. Damage, he goes on, "would be difficult to assess and interpret if the debris, including re-entry vehicles, continue on their ballistic course to the continental United States."

Few of the space weapons now being discussed would destroy enemy warheads, much less vaporize them as suggested in tv depictions. Warheads might be knocked off course, or have their guidance systems destroyed, but still speed inexorably toward the United States. Even "dead" or damaged warheads could shower us with deadly, long-lived uranium and plutonium as they break up and burn on re-entering the atmosphere.

In addition, some live warheads would inevitably penetrate even the most ambitious defense. "In an attack, we might still receive, say, 20 percent of the ballistic missiles fired," says William Perry, former Undersecretary of Defense for Research and Engineering.

"However, if only 10 percent get through, 600 ballistic missile warheads would hit the U.S., plus bombs and warheads in their bomber and cruise missile force. In my judgement, this is not rendering nuclear weapons 'impotent.'"

Yet another reason that space war is unlikely to be confined to space is the potential development of extraterrestrial weapons that could attack targets on earth and in the atmosphere. One authority who has stressed this possibility is Air Force Gen. Robert Marsh, who has said, "We should move into warfighting capabilities—that is, ground-to-space warfighting capabilities, space-to-space, space-to-ground."

It is difficult to conceive of a laser which could penetrate the atmosphere all the way to the earth's surface. Last year, however, Gen. James Abrahamson, director of the Strategic Defensive Initiative—the formal name for "Star Wars"—spoke to Congress of directed energy weapons "that can penetrate deep into the atmosphere" being equipped to "engage aircraft anywhere in the world."

Reportedly, researchers are also looking at the idea of space-based launchers that could shoot projectiles at targets on the ground.

But even space-based weapons designed solely for use against space targets would inflict damage on earth.

For instance, consider the laser code-named "Excalibur." This relies on explosion of a high-yield nuclear device, an H-bomb, to generate a missile-destroying x-ray beam. Nuclear explosions in space generate powerful surges of "electromagnetic pulse," which could destroy unprotected electronics, computers and communications facilities across a broad area of the earth's surface.

However, the most compelling reason why Star Wars could never be confined to space is not technical, but political. As with nuclear war today, space war would most probably be initiated by an escalating superpower conflict. War may begin on earth and continue in space, but inevitably it will return to earth.

Whoever won the space battles, the combatants would still strive for victory with the means still at hand. Even if their missiles did fail to penetrate space-based defenses, both superpowers have more than adequate numbers of ground-hugging bombers and cruise missiles to continue with an attack—until one wins a "victory" or, more likely, they utterly destroy each other.

"If we and the Soviets could agree to limit our battles to the space arena, we could just as well agree to limit them to a deserted Pacific island," writes Congressional space consultant Thomas Karas in "The New High Ground."

"We could send representative knights to joust for us, then agree to abide by the outcome. The reasons we don't do that are the same reasons we won't have technological duels isolated in space."

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Draft by 1990s?

Navy Admiral James D. Watkins, chief of all U.S. naval operations, told Congress recently that "one out of every two physically eligible males" will have to enter the armed forces in 1988 so that the military can meet its manpower needs. He called for an immediate debate on the draft issue.

The reason for the need is a "low level of young people coming into the workforce in the nation," Watkins said. Dwindling birthrates in the 1970s are expected to create a shrinking pool from which servicemen and women can be recruited in the late 80s and early 90s, studies show.

—Northern Sun News

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THE REAGAN FILE

We have previously noted Reagan's interest in the ideology of Armageddon. Now James Mills, the former president pro tem of the California state senate, has added to our theological insights with a memoir, published in San Diego magazine, of a conversation he had with Reagan in 1971. The two were sitting together at a banquet in honor of Mills. Here, according to Mills (who took copious notes after the dinner) are some of Reagan's thoughts:

"Everything is falling in place. It can't be much longer now. Ezekiel says fire and brimstone will be rained upon the enemies of God's people. That must mean they will be destroyed by nuclear weapons. . . Ezekiel tells us that Gog, the nation that will lead all of the other powers of darkness against Israel, will come out of the north. Biblical scholars have been saying for generations that Gog must be Russia. What other powerful nation is to the north of Israel? None. But it didn't seem to make sense before the Russian revolution, when Russia was a Christian country. Now it does, now that Russia has become communistic and atheistic, now the Russia has set itself against God. Now it fits the description of Gog perfectly."

Jim Ridgeway, in the Village Voice, cites some other examples of Reagan's concern with Armageddon:

- In a conversation with Jerry Falwell, 1981: "Jerry, I sometimes believe we're heading very fast for Armageddon."
- Remark to TV minister Jim Bakker, 1980: "We may be the generation that sees Armageddon."
- Speech to the National Association of Evangelicals, 1983: "I believe that communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written."

While waiting to give a TV address on the Mid-East hostage crisis, Reagan remarked, "After seeing 'Rambo,' I know what to do the next time this happens."

We all know that hyper-patriot Reagan spent the war years on a film lot in California. But what about his buddies in the right-wing? Jack Newfield in the Village Voice has looked into the matter

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and reports these less than stunning results:

Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle missed the draft while studying for a master's degree and writing a never-finished doctoral thesis in England.

Pat Buchanan, White House communications director, escaped military service because of a bad knee.

Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams missed the draft because of a back ailment.

Deputy Secretary of Defense William Howard Taft IV was a Harvard Law School during the peak of the Vietnam War.

George Will went through the Vietnam years at Oxford and Princeton.

Right-wing representative Trent Lott of Mississippi, House Republican Whip, had a student deferment from the draft.

Representative Newt Gringrich, Republican of Georgia, who has described himself as "the very tough-minded son of a career soldier," went through his draftable years untouched. During much of the time he was a student at Emory and Tulane. Asked why he had entered politics instead of the army, Gingrich told Jane Mayer of the Wall Street Journal, What difference would I have made? . . . There was a bigger battle in Congress than in Vietnam."

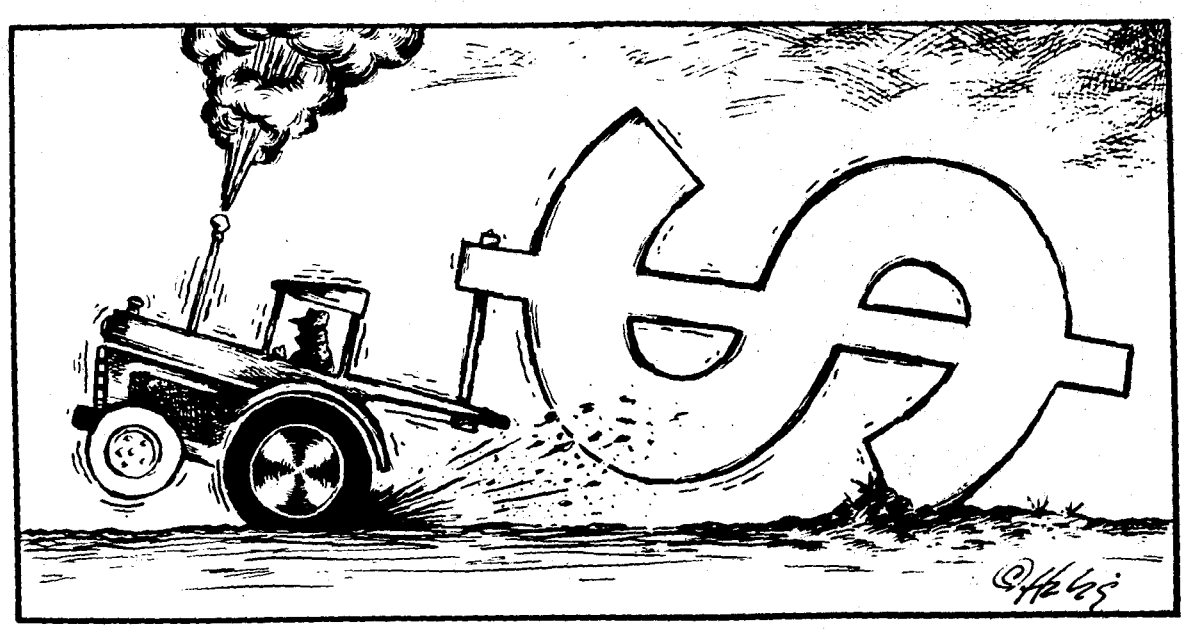
Norman Podhoretz, editor of Commentary missed the Korean War as a student of literature at Columbia University and Cambridge.

Sylvester Stallone taught at a private school in Switzerland, attended the University of Miami and made porn films during the Vietnam War.

Emmett Tyrell, publisher of the right-wing American Spectator spent the sixties as a student at the University of Indiana and in graduate school.

Robert Novack was at the University of Illinois during the Korean war. He was not drafted nor did he enlist.

Although there has been some press attention to the failure of the government to take action against any individuals in the E. F. Hutton scandal, Washington's City Paper is the only place we've seen it mentioned that the president of E. F. Hutton, Scott Pierce, is the brother-in-law of George Bush. Tactful.



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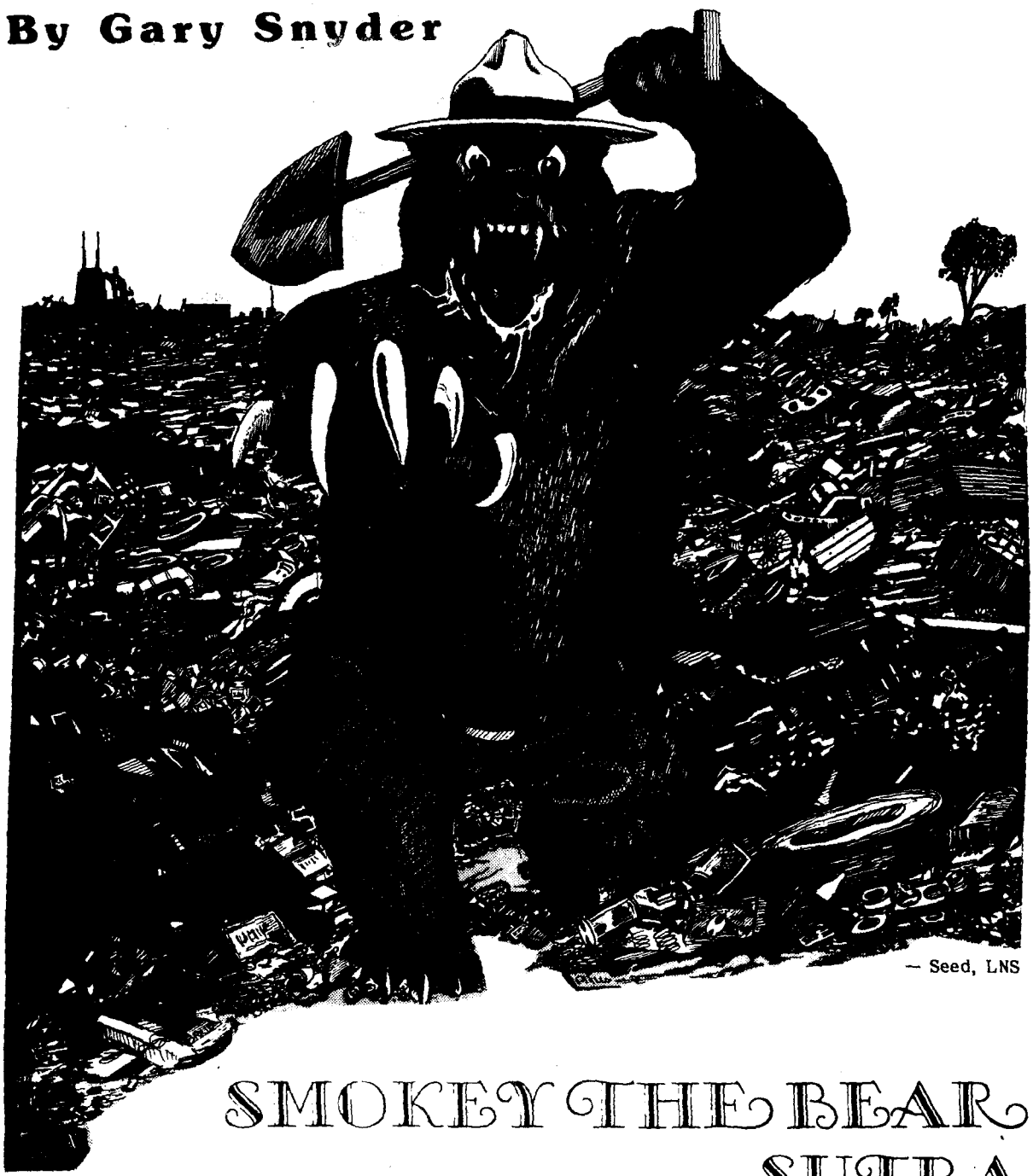
By Gary Snyder



— Seed, LNS

SMOKEY THE BEAR SUTRA

Once in the Jurassic, about 150 million years ago, the Great Sun Buddha in this corner of the Infinite Void gave a great Discourse to all the assembled elements and energies: to the standing beings, the walking beings, the flying beings, and the sitting beings - even grasses, to the number of thirteen billion, each one born from a seed, were assembled there: a Discourse concerning Enlightenment on the planet Earth.

"In some future time, there will be a continent called America. It will

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have great centers of power called such as Pyramid Lake, Walden Pond, Mt.Rainier, Big Sur, Everglades, and so forth; and powerful nerves and channels such as Columbia River, Mississippi River, and Grand Canyon. The human race in that era will get into troubles all over its head, and practically wreck everything in spite of its own strong intelligent Buddha-nature."

"The twisting strata of the great mountains and the pulsings of great volcanoes are my love burning deep in the earth. My obstinate compassion is schist and basalt and granite, to be mountains, to bring down the rain. In that future American Era I shall enter a new form: to cure the world of loveless knowledge that seeks with blind hunger; and mindless rage eating food that will not fill it."

And he showed himself in his true form of

SMOKEY THE BEAR.

A handsome smokey-colored brown bear standing on his hind legs, showing that he is aroused and watchful.

Bearing in his right paw the Shovel that digs to the truth beneath appearances; cuts the roots of useless attachments, and flings damp sand on the fires of greed and war;

His left paw in the Mudra of Comradely Display--indicating that all creatures have the full right to live to their limits and that deer, rabbits, chipmunks, snakes, dandelions, and lizards all grow in the realm of the Dharma;

Wearing the blue work overalls symbolic of slaves and laborers, the countless men oppressed by a civilization that claims to save but only destroys;

Wearing the broad-brimmed hat of the West, symbolic of the forces that guard the Wilderness, which is the Natural State of the Dharma and the True Path of man on earth; all true paths lead through mountains

With a halo of smoke and flame behind, the forest fires of the kali-yuga, fires caused by the stupidity of those who think things can be gained and lost whereas in truth all is contained vast and free in the Blue Sky and Green Earth of One Mind;

Round-bellied to show his kind nature and that the great earth has food enough for everyone who loves her and trusts her;

Trampling underfoot wasteful freeways and needless suburbs; smashing the worms of capitalism and totalitarianism;

Indicating the task: his followers, becoming free of cars, houses, canned food, universities, and shoes, master the Three Mysteries of their own Body, Speech and Mind; and fearlessly chop down the rotten trees and prune out the sick limbs of this country America and then burn the leftover trash.

Wrathful but Calm, Austerre but Comic, Smokey the Bear will illuminate those who would help him; but for those who would hinder or slander him,

HE WILL PUT THEM OUT.

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Thus his great Mantra:

Namah samanta vajranam chanda maharoshana
Sphataya hum traka ham mam

"I DEDICATE MYSELF TO THE UNIVERSAL DIAMOND BE THIS RAGING FURY DESTROYED"

And he will protect those who love woods and rivers. Gods and animals, hobos and madmen, prisoners and sick people, musicians, playful women, and hopeful children;

And if anyone is threatened by advertising, air pollution, or the police, they should chant SMOKEY THE BEAR'S WAR SPELL:

DROWN THEIR BUTTS
CRUSH THEIR BUTTS
DROWN THEIR BUTTS
CRUSH THEIR BUTTS

And SMOKEY THE BEAR will surely appear to put the enemy out with his vajra-shovel.

Now those who recite this Sutra and then try to put it in practice will accumulate merit as countless as the sands of Arizona & Nevada,
Will help save the planet Earth from total oil slick,
Will enter the age of harmony of man and nature,
Will win the tender love and caresses of men, women, and beasts
Will always have ripe blackberries to eat and a sunny spot under a pine tree to sit at,

AND IN THE END WILL WIN HIGHEST PERFECT ENLIGHTENMENT.

thus have we heard.■

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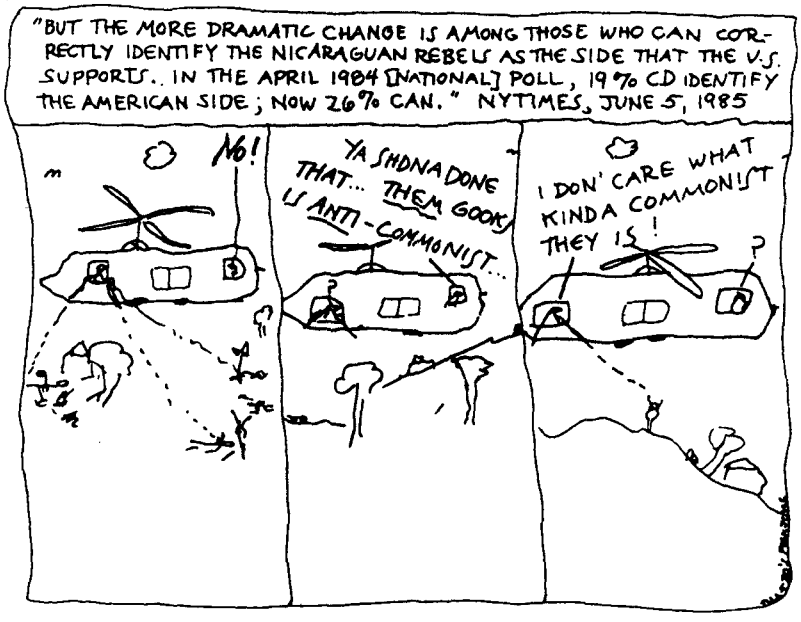
— Dialogue


"BUT THE MORE DRAMATIC CHANGE IS AMONG THOSE WHO CAN CORRECTLY IDENTIFY THE NICARAGUAN REBELS AS THE SIDE THAT THE U.S. SUPPORTS. IN THE APRIL 1984 [NATIONAL] POLL, 19% CD IDENTIFY THE AMERICAN SIDE; NOW 26% CAN." NYTIMES, JUNE 5, 1985
NO!
YA SHDNA DONE THAT... THEM GOOK IS ANTI-COMMONIST...
I DON' CARE WHAT KINDA COMMONIST THEY IS!

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THE RISE OF SHADOW WARS

Michael Klare

Michael Klare has written many books on military affairs including most recently The Global Arms Supermarket. *He heads the peace studies center at Amherst.*

The United States is moving toward a novel military policy that involves neither direct intervention nor massive nuclear attack. This new approach might be called "shadow wars."

A rationale for this can be found in Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's recent statement that we should not commit troops to war unless six basic

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conditions are met:

- Vital U.S. interests are at stake,
- We would fight to win,
- We had clearly-defined political and military objectives,
- Our commitment was proportionate to the stakes involved,
- Public opinion was favorable, and
- All reasonable non-military means of resolving the conflict had been tried and found wanting.

These are very demanding conditions—so demanding, in fact, that many commentators believe they can never be met. Former Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Feb. 6 that these standards "would virtually assure other powers that they can count on not facing American forces."

Such attitudes are based on the fact that most conflicts we are likely to face will be of the "brushfire" type, as in Vietnam—and history suggests such wars tend to be unwinnable, unpopular, and with no clear objective. At the same time, anything on a larger scale—another war in Europe, say, or an all-out conflict in the Middle East—would probably trigger the use of nuclear weapons, thereby turning the planet into a radioactive wasteland.

All this suggests that warfare, in the traditional sense, has become unuseable as an instrument of foreign policy.

One obvious way out of this dilemma would be to abandon warfare as an instrument of policy, and develop other modes of resolving conflict. Such an approach has many obvious advantages—not least, solving the nation's deficit crisis.

However, that would also mean demobilizing our armed forces and depriving Washington of its principal means of pressuring errant foreign nations—a course our present leaders are not inclined to follow. Rather than renounce the military option, therefore, U.S. strategists have introduced "shadow" wars.

The United States has, of course, long engaged in "police" actions, "counterinsurgency" operations, rescue missions and the like, but these have usually been considered peripheral to the military's main function. Now these low-intensity conflicts are becoming a central focus of U.S. military planning. While it cannot be said that we are at war today, it also cannot be said that we are entirely at peace.

U.S. military advisors are directly assisting government forces in El Salvador, and U.S. intelligence operatives work with anti-Sandinista "contras" in Honduras. U.S. advisors are helping government forces in the Philippines, in Morocco and possibly in the Sudan. In every case, U.S. support is intended to secure a victory without risking direct involvement in an unpopular war.

U.S. forces have also been trained for another sort of shadow conflict—punitive and retaliatory strikes against suspected terrorist encampments. The Reagan Administration has even called for "pre-emptive" military strikes against extremist groups.

The Administration has ordered massive expansion of paramilitary combat apparatus. "We must revitalize and enhance special-operations forces to project United States power where the use of conventional forces would be premature, inappropriate, or infeasible," Weinberger affirmed in the Pentagon's 1984-85 "defense guidance" document.

So the Administration authorized a one-third increase in Army Special Forces strength, and established the Joint Special Operations Command at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Special units of the other services have also been expanded, as has the multi-service "Delta Force" anti-terrorist command.

These forces now have their own air fleet—helicopters and transport planes used for night operations—and will soon acquire their own navy. NBC News has reported that the Delta Force will be given two aging nuclear submarines for use in secret missions.

These "official" shadow armies have been augmented, in some cases, by private firms and mercenaries working on contract to government agencies. In Honduras, for instance, the CIA has employed small "proprietary" airlines to carry contra supplies, while some U.S. mercenaries have reportedly accompanied Salvadoran forces into combat.

All these moves have allowed the administration to increase U.S. military clout abroad without initiating a full-scale conflict. Moreover, such operations avoid the War Powers Act, which limits the employment of regular U.S. combat forces.

There is, of course, some precedent—the Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961 and the "secret war" in Laos come to mind. But what we see today in Nicaragua seems unique—a merging of proxy forces, mercenaries, private funding, and secret operatives, all under CIA auspices, to topple a government with which we maintain regular diplomatic relations.

It's a model which could prove more and more attractive as constraints on conventional operations become more and more tight.

But if this seems a desirable alternative to regular warfare, it is wise to remember that subterranean conflicts often grow into full-scale wars. The war in Vietnam, for instance, started out as a shadow conflict of the sort now underway in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and the Philippines. If we seek to avoid another destructive entanglement like Vietnam, therefore, we dare not view shadow wars as a risk-free alternative.

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THE 51ST STATE

Sam Smith

Rent Control

The November rent control referendum is important not simply because its passage would restore rent control in DC to approximately where it was before the city council started trying to find ways to gut it; it is important not simply because it represents the first opportunity for the voters to overturn an action of the government (as opposed to creating a new initiative); it is also important because its approval would be a message that even the most obdurate member of the council might understand — namely, that it was time the mayor and council stopped representing campaign contributions and started representing people.

In much the fashion that corporate values have so infiltrated American political life that most Americans appear to think that free enterprise is part of the Constitution, so local business goals have been given equality, and in many cases superiority, to the desires of the purported, and increasingly former, electorate. The assumption in the District Building that the rights of mere voters must be balanced against the rights of commercial interests is one of the most insidious principles upon which our politicians operate, for it declares, in effect, a severe modification of democracy in which the voter is reduced to the status of just another special interest.

It takes many votes by ordinary residents of DC to equal one vote cast by the business community through a check payable to the campaign of a local politician — and nowhere is this subversion of democracy more apparent here than in matters having to do with real estate.

The referendum offers a rare opportunity for voters to correct this distortion and the opportunity should not be missed.

Of course, the familiar arguments will be presented against the measure: it is preventing the blossoming of thousands of rental units that would otherwise bloom; it is responsible for thousands of boarded up and abandoned units; it is unwarranted interference in the marketplace.

It may help to put some of this twaddle in perspective.

While it is true that there are thousands of boarded up and abandoned units in the city, the same was true before rent control. Rent control has neither worsened nor improved this situation.

The fact is that many of these units are lying in wait for a better economic climate, one in which the profit margins sought by those owning the units can be realized. In no case, absent governmental assistance, would such a climate produce housing for low and moderate-income renters.

There is, however, considerable demand for low and moderate-income units. The number of persons on waiting lists for government assisted housing in the city has almost doubled in the last ten years. Sadly, over the past seven years, the amount of that assistance has dramatically declined.

The fact that rent control has been in effect at the same time as the government has been retreating from its housing programs has led the former to be blamed for effects of the latter. In 1978 federal rental assistance in the metropolitan area was $17.2 million; by 1982 it was down to $3.1 million.

Meanwhile, land and real estate values have soared, due in no small part to the speculative practices of some of those most critical of rent control and with the enthusiastic encouragement of the local government. At the heart of the city's so-called economic development policies has been an effort to drive the value of real property up to an extent that it has been, coincidentally, an anti-housing policy. If the city had set out saying, "we don't want any more low and middle-income housing," and then followed exactly the planning policies it has followed for the past 20 years, it couldn't have achieved its goals any quicker or better. Putting the burden on rent control is both cynical and hypocritical.

Meanwhile, more and more renters are feeling the squeeze. In the metropolitan area

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Between 1980 and 1984 the number of people riding the subway to work in DC went up — by a grand total of 6000 people a day. The number of people riding the bus went down nearly 18,000. And the total using mass transportation declined by 14,000, or nearly ten percent. Meanwhile, the number coming to work by automobile went up by 38,000, or 18%. For this we paid $100 million a mile?

nearly 30% of all renters paid in excess of 30% of their income for rent in 1980. Slightly over half of all renter households with incomes under $10,000 paid 35% or more of their incomes in rent.

And while critics of rent control tried to scramble up some new housing ideas in their effort to lift controls entirely, the effort lacked a certain sincerity. In fact, they are also looking for more ways to ease out the low and middle-income renter, witness H. R. Crawford's plan to give these renters the "opportunity" to waive their right of first refusal to purchase under federal Section 8 housing programs — a move that would put a crimp in efforts to take over existing units and turn them into cooperatives.

It must be said, however, that not all the blame belongs to the critics of rent control. Its advocates have made a serious error in treating rent control as if it were a housing program, which it isn't, any more than traffic lights represent a transportation policy. The sad truth is that DC does not have a housing policy worthy of the name and the government has received all too little pressure to do anything about this.

There are things that could be done. The city could go into the home mortgage business and use market-rate loans to help subsidize below-interest loans to lower income persons. This would mean direct competition with local financial institutions, but if they are going to compete with our votes through their private influence, then a little competition with them on their own turf shouldn't bother us too much.

We could demand housing or money for housing in all new development projects. This isn't so radical; in fact, it has been happening enough that it even has a bureaucratic name: "linkage." Where's the linkage in DC?

We could provide various shared-equity programs for persons wishing to buy homes or save them from foreclosure. The city would, in effect, become a part-owner in the property, thus, for a change, becoming a beneficiary of the speculation it has encouraged.

And we could, above all else, take some money out of the bloated administrative offices of the District Building and put it into housing assistance.

There's a lot we would do, but first we need some politicians who think housing in more important than Bloomingdale's or Oliver Carr's idea for a new profit center. Drawing the line on rent control this November might be a good place to start.

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Statehood

The voting rights amendment is dead. Or to put it more accurately, it has finally been declared dead. It has been dead for a long time, almost from the day it moved out of Congress, propelled by the votes of enemies of self-government who saw it as an easy way of showing they were doing something for blacks. The local establishment fell for the scam and wasted seven years on a doomed project, meanwhile deriding those who favored statehood as impractical and dreamers. Now even the Coalition for Self-Determination has discovered statehood and in one of its painfully moderate announcements says it will consider it as an alternative.

Unfortunately, the statehood movement has come upon hard times as well. Not so much for external reasons as for a lack of passion and effort on the part of its advocates. To be sure, the dismal performance of the mayor and council takes the wind out of the sails of any craft moving towards statehood, but beyond that seems to be an endemic inertia in this town that dampens activity of any sort. Is it defeatism in the Reagan years or a certain smugness with the way things are for many here? I don't know, but I am sure it's no way to achieve statehood. The constitutional convention crowd, having issued their ringing manifesto, aren't doing much to help and the establishment hasn't quite got up the nerve to say it really wants self-government.

The strongest statement I've seen on behalf of statehood lately has come from out of town, in an editorial in the Baltimore Sun last August 25. The Sun said "We emphatically support the idea of full voting rights for District residents." It noted that there were two ways now that could be achieved. After knocking down the idea of retrocession, it said "That leaves statehood." And concluded, "In America civil rights wars aren't lost, only battles. The right to vote is the basic civil right. The District of Columbia has lost a battle, but the war is far from over."

Indeed it is. But it would help to have a few troops fighting it. Given that we can't expect the matter to be high on the agenda of

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the mayor, that we can't expect the Washington Post to be as enlightened as the Baltimore Sun and that if we leave it either to Walter Fauntroy or Charles Cassell, we'll all die wondering how it will come out, those anxious for full rights of citizenship should consider working for it on their own. There is a precedent: once before, when the statehood movement was in a deep lull, a group of individuals, most not previously active in the movement, got together and decided to get the matter on the ballot. It thanks to them that we have voted on statehood, have a constitution, and have bills in both houses of Congress. It's an excellent time for some new supporters to pick up the ball.

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The new prison

The refusal of the mayoral commission on prison construction to play Barry's game was perhaps the most noble local political action since the last time Mitch Snyder almost starved to death. As I write this, Barry is putting pressure on the body to reverse its opposition to a new prison so whether the nobility will endure or not is up for grabs. It certainly is another instance, a la rent control, that shows how out of step with the city many of our politicians are. It's a pretty bad sign when you can't even find enough respectable puppets to appoint to your commission.

One of the curiosities of this dismal affair is why Barry is acting so beholdened to the wishes of the Justice Department. Since it reflects a reversal of even his recent position, one senses that he is in some way a hostage of of the Reagan administration. Among mayors, black or white, he has been one of its mildest critics. What he hasn't said has been almost as bemusing as what he has. I suppose he would argue that this is just another example of how clever he is, but it does makes you wonder.

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BEST BETS FOR NOVEMBER

FOR SCHOOL BOARD
AT LARGE
David Eaton
Phyllis Young

FOR SCHOOL BOARD
WARD THREE
Wanda Washburn

RENT CONTROL REFERENDUM
Yes

Furthermore

The arrival of a trade delegation from Beijing to open new doors between our two cities (what do we export — croissants and consultants?) brings to mind a conversation I had some years back with one of the first Americans involved in the newly reopened commerce with the Chinese. He said he was experiencing some difficulty getting the Chinese to understand the cultural implications of various trade names they had selected. For example, they had a fine bicycle that they wanted to export under the label, "White Elephant." They couldn't understand why Americans did not appreciate the white elephant as a proud, grand and rare creature. Then there was the line of men's underwear which they wanted to call "Pansy." He discouraged them in this case as well. The one name he found eminently suitable was a hammer that was to be identified by the town in which it was manufactured. He thought there was a real future for the "Fukien Hammer."

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The Washington Free Press, the Quicksilver Times, The Colonial Rag, Newsworks, the Washington Tribune and now, after going through a $1.25 million investment in a year, the Washington Weekly has suspended publication.

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The Warner Theatre has been designated a DC Historic Landmark.

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Clyde Short, a political consultant and writer has been named executive director of the local ADA.

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DC has the highest high school dropout rate of any state except for Louisiana.

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Martha's Kitchen has been providing the homeless with some upscale nourishment. The soup kitchen has been doling out leftover food from embassy receptions, political fundraisers and corporate get-togethers. Elizabeth Wallace got the idea after thinking about all the food that was going to be wasted at President Reagan's inaugural ball.

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Although Antioch Law School is taking it in the chops from the American Bar Association, the DC Council has unanimously passed a resolution recognizing and commending the school for the "quality legal representation to low income residents" it has provided for the past decade.

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You'd never know it from the amount of time Marion Barry spends talking about economic

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growth and jobs, but the fact is that DC lost 11,128 jobs between 1977 and 1982 according to a report from the Greater Washington Research Center. Now, we can add to that nearly 3000 jobs lost, and bragged about at that, because of the city's new restrictions on street vendors.

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DC has one-quarter the number of AIDS cases as San Francisco but spends less than one percent as much doing something about it. This may improve somewhat as support grows for increased funding. There are currently about 240 cases in the city. Typical victim is a black male between 25-35, living in zipcodes 20001, 20009, 20010 and 20011. Among current efforts by local AIDS activists: giving free condoms to prostitutes and suggesting that they buy them in the future.

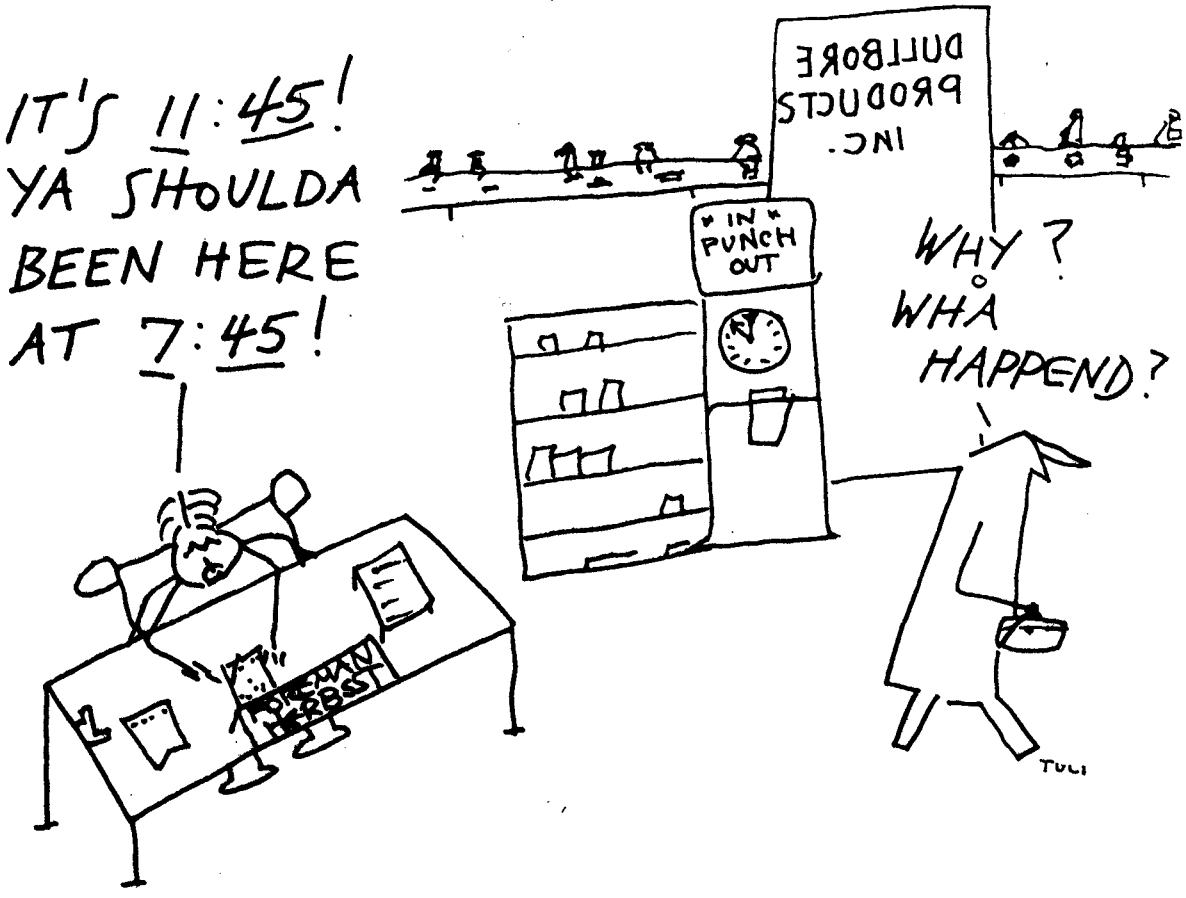
What's happening

Bicycle Routes in the Washington Area: Map includes both designed trails and suggested routes along city streets. $5 from COG's information center, 1875 Eye NW #200, DC 20006 (223-6800)

National Center for Jazz is being planned for DC. Info: National Jazz Service Organization, 1201 Penna Ave NW #720, DC 20004. (393-8585)

Capital Area Community Food Bank needs volunteers. Info: 526-5344

Washington Area Labor Committee on Central America and the Carribean is a local organization that has been working on Central American issues for two years. Info: 234-9286.



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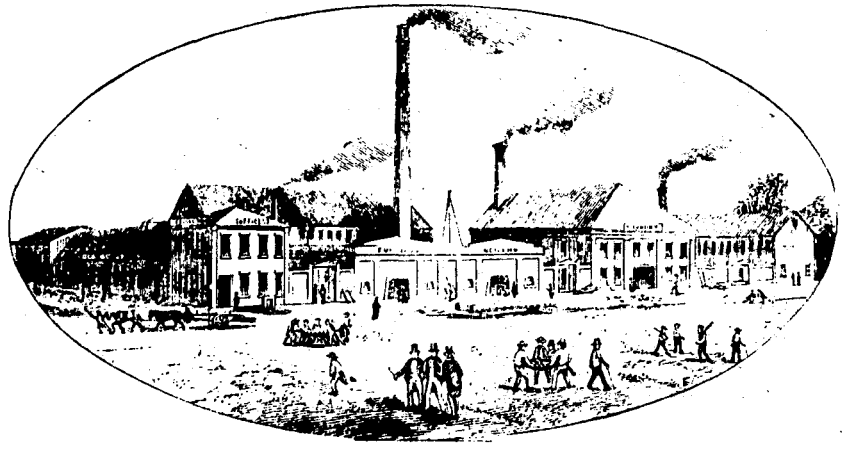

THE IDEA MILL

The William Penn House, 515 East Capitol St, Washington DC 20003 (202-543-5560) offers week-long seminars on arms control and disarmament issues with government, congressional and non-governmental experts.

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A boycott of Folgers coffee has been called by the Committee for Justice in El Salvador (715 29th Ave E, Seattle, Washington 98112) in an effort to stop Proctor & Gamble from buying Salvadoran coffee beans. Folgers is one of the two major US users of Salvadoran coffee beans, with a third of the crop going to the US.

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The unemployed workers of southwest Pennsylvania are among the most organized in the country. Among other things they put out a newspaper that covers actions and efforts in their territory. You can join the Mon Valley Unemployed Committee by sending $5 to it at 116 Fifth Ave, McKeesport, Pa, 15132 (412-678-1409).

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The Realist is back again on a sort of bi-monthly basis. Paul Krassner's publication was what is known in academic circles as a "seminal work," encouraging others to buck the system. The new version costs $23 for 12 issues. Send orders to the Realist, Box 14757, San Francisco, CA 94114.

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Black and White Children in America: Key Facts, a new publication from the Children's Defense Fund, describes the overall and comparative status of black and white children and the continuing inequality that plagues millions of black children. In her introduction, CDF President Marian Wright Edelman, says that the principal conclusion of *Black and White Children in America* is that black children are "sliding backwards."

The book specifies what must be done to reverse this slide and analyzes the Children's Survival Bill, recently introduced in Congress. Based on the premise that "an investment of scarce resources in our nation's children will protect our nation's future," the book also includes more than 100 tables.

Copies may be ordered by sending a check for $9.95 plus $1.50 for postage and handling to: the Children's Defense Fund, 122 C St. NW, Washington, DC 20001.

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The Nuclear War Graphics Project has produced "The Dream of an Impenetrable Shield: Ballistic Missile Defense in the Nuclear Age."

The slide show reviews the history of ballistic missile defense, describes the Strategic Defense Initiative program, discusses what's wrong with Star Wars and provides a guide to understanding the current debate.

There are 80 slides, with taped narration and printed script; 26 minutes. Price: $25 plus $5 for postage and handling from Nuclear War Graphics

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Project, 100 Nevada Street, Northfield, MN 55057; (507) 645-7736.

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For those who can devote most of 1986 to a walk from Los Angeles to Washington to promote nuclear disarmament, PRO-Peace is looking for 5,000 people to make the trek. Starting March 1 and covering 15 miles a day, the marchers—half of them students, it is hoped—should arrive in Washington in November.

PRO-PEace was begun by David Mixner, cofounder of the 1969 Vietnam Moratorium, to create a dramatic moral force for reducing nuclear arms. Backed by top entertainers, well financed and committed to non-violence, the group hopes to inspire other citizens and attract wide publicity for its goal. Contact PRO-Peace, 8150 Beverly Road, Suite 301, Los Angeles, CA 90048 for more information.

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A new statistical survey of women's lives worldwide is now available from World Priorities, Box 25140, Washington, DC, 20007. The document, "Women, a World Survey," focuses on changes in women's situation since World War II. It was written by the group's director, Ruth Leger Sivard, who also writes the annual "World Military and Social Expenditures." Copies of the 44-page document are $5 in the US, $6 if mailed first class, and $7.50 for overseas airmail.

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On July 14 Vermont citizens took part in a Nicaraguan Embargo Challenge, an effort to openly bring embargoed Nicaraguan goods into the US. The group had hoped to instigate a court case which would test the constitutionality of the declared embargo of Nicaraguan goods.

Despite the Reagan Administration's tough rhetoric and well publicized embargo, demonstrators were allowed by customs officials to carry Nicaraguan goods, valued at over $50 and designated for resale, over the border from Canada to the US. Some officials speculated that the group was allowed to bring the items over the border in order to avoid a legal challenge over the embargo. For more information on the Embargo Busting project, contact the Burlington Peace and Justice Center, 186 College Street, Burlington, VT. 05401. —*Washington Peace Center.*

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The Center for Local Food and Agriculture is publishing a new quarterly magazine designed to promote the alternative food and farming movement. It includes a green pages directory of farms, distributors, processors, retailers, resources, and services in New York and nearby states and Canadian provinces.

Subscriptions to *New Leaf* are available for $8 a year from the Center for Local Food and Agriculture, Anabel Taylor Hall, Ithaca, NY 14853 (607/256-5027).

A new directory of sustainable agriculture and horticulture organizations has been published by the National Institute for Science, Law, and Public Policy. It provides information on agriculture and horticulture training institutions, research institutes, development programs, political organizations, appropriate technology institutes, and sustainable agriculture design groups.

Healthy Harvest—A Directory of Sustainable Agriculture and Horticulture Organizations 1985 is available for $6.95 postpaid from the National Institute for Science, Law, and Public Policy, 1424 16th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

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LINKS, a newsletter on health and social change in Central America, is published by the National Central American Health Rights Network, an independent coalition of more than 50 health and solidarity groups. Write POB 407, Audubon Station, NYC, NY 10032.

Baltimore Vegetarians has published *I Love Animals and Broccoli*, a children's activity book exploring healthy eating, vegetarianism, animal rights, ecology, and feeding a hungry world.

To order *I Love Broccoli and Animals* send $5.00 ($3.00 for low-income) to Baltimore Vegetarians, P.O. Box 1463, Baltimore, MD 21203.

Several groups in the US have been organizing material aid to Nicaragua. The programs not only send urgently needed materials to fulfill specific needs, but send an important message to US policy makers: that tens of thousands of US citizens are willing to disrupt the US war effort.

In addition to the American Friends Service Committee and OXFAM, which have aid projects throughout Central America, the following are some of the groups involved in sending aid to Nicaragua:

The Quixote Center, an astonishingly successful group, has sent 17 twenty-ton cargo containers to Nicaragua, including $7 million in medical supplies,

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EVEN JUST BUILDING BOMBS CAN KILL US

Allen B. Benson

Allen B. Benson holds a PhD in chemistry and teaches at Spokane, Wash. Community College. Larry Shook, former publisher of Spokane Magazine, specializes on nuclear-related issues.

SPOKANE, WA.—For more than 40 years the prospect of using nuclear weapons on a large scale—that is, the idea of nuclear war—has been called "unthinkable."

Now, an equally haunting aspect of nuclear arms is emerging—the possibility that in making them we have already poisoned our homeland as much as the killing fields where they were exploded in anger.

At Nagasaki, the greatest plutonium contamination of the soil was measured at 2,500 micrograms per acre. About a mile from the center of the blast, 66 micrograms was found.

Today, plutonium in the soil at the U.S. Department of Energy's Rocky Flats plant near Denver, Colo., registers at 2,600 micrograms per acre and above. In the course of a suit brought by property owners—settled out of court in January—Rockwell Corp., which runs the plant, acknowledged that the facility was the source of radioactive discharges.

Near Rocky Flats, where nuclear weapons triggers are made, concentrations of plutonium range from more than 53 micrograms per acre in residential areas closest to the plant down to 6.6 micrograms per acre some 20 miles away in downtown Denver. These figures were first published in 1981 in AMBIO, journal of the Royal Swedish Academy of Science, in an article by Dr. Carl J. Johnson.

Except for minute traces found in Africa, there was no plutonium on earth prior to the development of nuclear weapons.

While there is some debate over just how lethal plutonium is, its discoverer, Glenn Seaborg, called it "fiendishly toxic. . .20,000 times more deadly than cobra venom." Animal studies seem to bear him out. In a government-funded experiment on beagles, .049 micrograms—that is 49 thousandths of a millionth of a gram—caused lung cancer in all the dogs. Plutonium remains toxic for approximately 250,000 years.

In Denver neighborhoods contaminated with Rocky Flats nuclear plutonium, two separate studies—Dr. Johnson's and a recent follow-up study by British epidemiologist Dr. Alice Stewart—have found the incidence of cancer 16 percent above what would be expected. The pattern of cancer in organs sensitive to radiation, Johnson writes, resembles the pattern seen in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

TOP FIFTY OF THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS INDUSTRY

Allied Signal
AT&T Co.
Boeing Co.
E.I. DuPont de Nemours & Co.
Eaton Corp.
EG&G Inc.
Emerson Electric
FMC Corp.
Ford Motor Company
GenCorp
General Dynamics Corp.
General Electric Co.
General Motors Corp.
Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.
Gould, Inc.
Grumman Corp.
GTE Corp.
Harris Corp.
Hercules, Inc.
Honeywell, Inc.
IBM Co.
ITT Corp.
Litton Industries, Inc.
Lockheed Corp.
LTV Corp.
Martin Marietta Corp.
McDonnell Douglas Corp.
Monsanto Co.
Morton Thiokol
Motorola, Inc.
Nat'l Distillers & Chemical
NL Industries, Inc.
North American Philips
Northrop Corp.
Penn Central Corp.
Raytheon Co.
RCA Corp.
Rockwell International Corp.
Sanders Associates, Inc.
The Singer Co.
Sperry Corp.
Teledyne, Inc.
Tenneco, Inc.
Texas Instruments, Inc.
Textron, Inc.
TRW, Inc.
UNC Resources, Inc.
United Technologies Corp.
United States Steel Co.
Westinghouse Electric

—New Abolitionist

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At the DOE's Hanford Reservation in the state of Washington, where more than half the plutonium for the U.S. nuclear arsenal has been produced, DOE-funded studies show up to 1,700 micrograms of plutonium per acre. That agency also reports that in communities less than 20 miles away, plutonium levels in the soil are equal to, or higher than, those where excess cancer is being reported in Denver.

DOE insists that fallout accumulated from atmospheric weapons testing, not Hanford, is the source of this contamination. That claim contradicts a profusion of research, including studies by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, indicating that weapons fallout should be much lower than existing levels.

It is not possible to talk about cancers near the plant as there have been no studies of the possible impact of Hanford on public health.

The suggestion that Hanford does not foul its surroundings is at odds with an Oregon State University study that found Hanford is the source of 20 to 25 percent of the plutonium identified in sediment at McNary Dam, downstream on the Columbia River.

A further challenge comes from research at DOE's Savannah River Plant in South Carolina, which also produces bomb plutonium. There, an International Atomic Energy Agency study showed a direct correlation between plutonium production and the presence of plutonium in the environment. An article in the May issue of AMBIO claims that radiation exposure from that plant's operations is 50 times greater than the government acknowledges.

Other evidence that nuclear weapons production is a dirty business comes from the Environmental Protection Agency. Only recently, the EPA reported that those living near a Fernald, Ohio plant which enriches plutonium for use in weapons receive a radiation dose of up to 9,300 millirems a year—some 1,200 times the agency's maximum recommended dose of 75 millirems a year. An average chest X-ray is about 10 millirems.

Radiation experts like Alice Stewart have begun to warn that routine discharges from nuclear facilities could lead to a gradual contamination of that earth that may prove more sinister than nuclear war—a nuclear holocaust could destroy civilization in short

(Please turn to page 44)

ROADSIGNS

• ELECTED BLACKS: The number of black elected officials rose 6% in 1984. Some of the biggest gains were in the south. Blacks still, however, make up only 1.2% of all elected officeholders in the country.

• EDUCATION: According to the Southern Libertarian Messenger, public school enrollment increased 88% between 1955 and 1975. The number of administrators went up 358%.

National Debt: Under Reagan the per capita national debt has more than doubled.

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• CHILDREN AND POVERTY: In 1969 13.8% of the nation's children were categorized as living in poverty. That figure has been steadily increasing until today, according to figures from the Congressional Research Service and the Congressional Budget Office, 22.2% of children live in poverty. Meanwhile, government spending for these children, corrected for inflation, has dropped by $290 apiece since 1976.

• PRISON POPULATION: For the tenth year in a row, state and federal prison populations have set a new record. The 1984 figure was 463,000, up 26,000 from the year before. During the Reagan administration the prison population has risen mnore than 40%.

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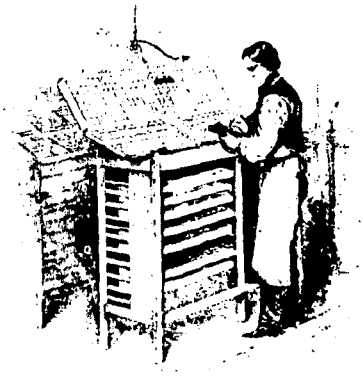

SHOP TALK

Groups

United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War says it has decided to give priority in the coming year to dealing with questions about the Soviet Union and opposing the Star Wars program, including Star Wars research at universities. The group says that since distrust of the USSR is the biggest obstacle among the public to reaching nuclear arms agreements, it was focus on the problem.

Students working against apartheid in South Africa have been aided by a computer network. Says one organizer, "We use it mostly for tactical coordination." The network is also useful in advising new campus groups on problems and projects. For example, the University of Florida was just getting its movement underway around graduation time and wanted ideas on how to demonstrate at the event. Students at the University of California — Santa Cruz replied immediately and the Floridians took their advice. The network is being used by students in practically every state.

Maryland harbor pilots have given Greenpeace a 190' vessel. The gift was negotiated before the sinking of the Greenpeace's 'Rainbow Warrior' in New Zealand after it had been bombed. The new craft, worth about $5 million, was formerly used as an ocean salvage vessel. Said Capt. Michael Watson, president of the Association of Maryland Pilots, "The Maryland harbor pilots are highly skilled professions, who support the efforts of Greenpeace to clean up the Chesapeake Bay. Part of the reason for hiving pilots is to prevent ecological disasters and we wanted to aid Greenpeace in its efforts."

ACORN now has started two radio stations, one in Dallas and one in Little Rock. The stations feature music and entertainment but also have news and political analysis prepared by ACORN.

People

Morton Halperin has been named director of the ACLU Washington office after a long internal dispute that revolved around the role of minorities in the ACLU. Halperin will continue to direct the Center for National Security Studies, which is an ACLU operation.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

When he writes "The Republican Party may be married to big business but the Democratic Party is its mistress," Sam Smith is on the right track. But he doesn't go far enough. For the Democratic Party is every bit as married to big business as the GOP. As such, the Democrats are engaged not merely in an adulterous relationship but a *bigamous* one. The distinction is important because if the Democratic Party is ever to reclaim its role as 'party of the people' it will have to do far more than simply "get out of bed" with big business. It will have to shed its own addiction to financial power and the so-called 'good life' that such power is supposed to represent.

Howard Bluth
Baltimore, Md.

One idea that surfaces occasionally, is that the main function of the legal system and courts is to make certain that everybody who desires it should have an equal right and opportunity to get his demands for justice into the trial and appellate courts. Most of the time this idea gets lost.

Much has been written about justice and demands for justice and the Constitution, but more and more the process of introducing demands into the system becomes more and more complex and expensive. Consideration should be given to reducing this complexity and expense and allowing everyone equal rights.

A great deal has been written on the Constitution and its meaning by the legal profession and the nonlawyer; so today everyone appears to. The Constitution does not clearly set forth or discuss the method of presenting demands for justice into the courts; however the Constitution, in the first amendment, clearly indicates that the people have the right to petition all branches of government for justice.

Since many demands for justice can be presented in simple terms, this power to petition should be given broad meaning as granting everyone the right to present petitions to the judicial branch of government and granting everyone a right to a fair hearing, by the courts, on his demands for justice.

Clearly the right to petition the courts allows everyone the right to initiate civil actions by petition and a hearing on criminal appeals by petition. The constitutional reference to petitioning the courts is one of the few references to court rules and should be given broad interpretation as to petition rights.

One broad area of demands for justice is in the field of prisoner's rights. A prisoner should be able to present his complaints concerning prison conditions by a simple petition addressed to the proper court; instead of getting involved in long, complex and expensive procedures.

Instead of concern with salaries of judges and lawyers the time is overdue to make certain everyone has a constitutional right based on the present Constitution, to present demands for justice to the courts.

John Casper
New Providence, New Jersey

Next time you apply for a job, you might have trouble getting a reference letter from your previous employer—no matter how well you performed, says the Dallas Morning News. Lots of firms are issuing blanket policies against saying anything—good or bad—about their former workers. The reason: lawsuits, big ones by workers against their ex-bosses for saying too much, too little or the wrong thing. New employers are also suing past employers over the accuracy of their reference letters: one Massachusetts hospital was sued for failing to reveal that a one-time staff doctor had been charged with rape while working there.

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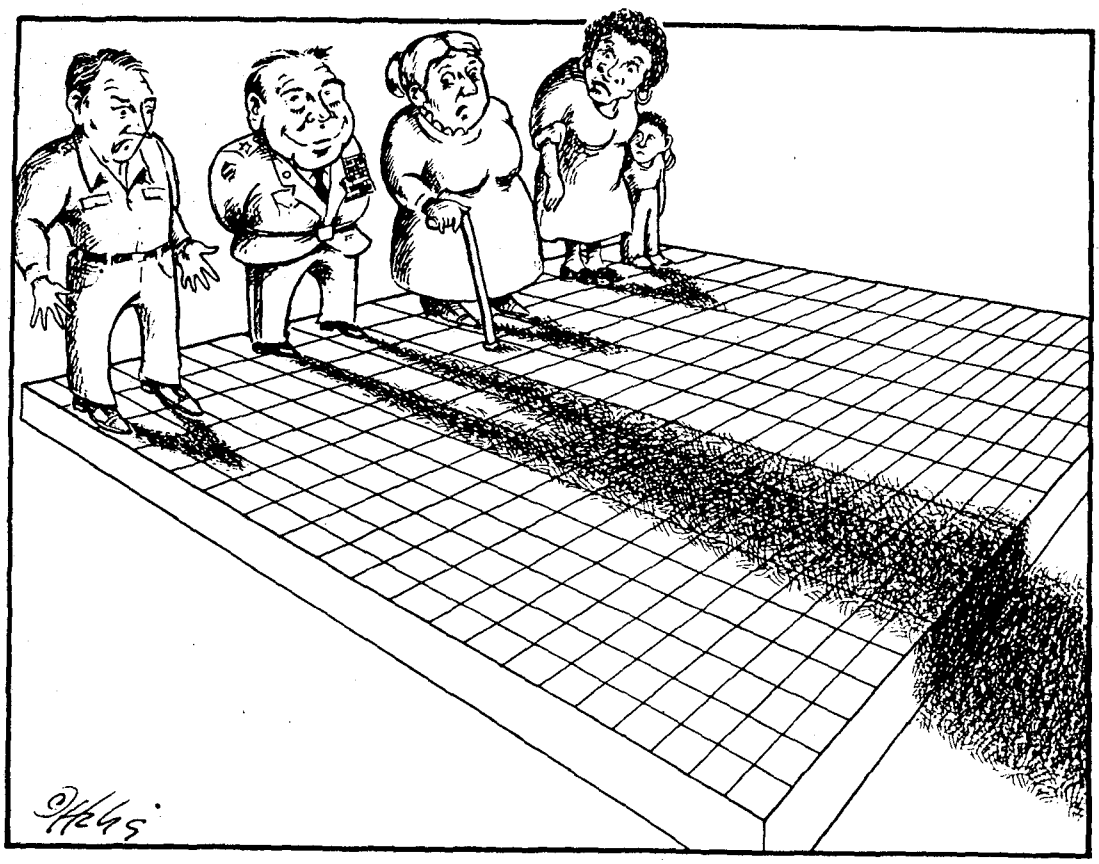

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO THE PEACE MOVEMENT?

Michael T. Klare

Michael T. Klare is a professor of peace and world security at Hampshire College, Amherst, Mass.

On the 40th anniversary of the fiery dawn of the Nuclear Age, the American peace movement is shifting dramatically in both tactics and orientation. Although still dedicated to a "nuclear freeze," many peace activists are turning away from lobbying to emphasize individual action and commitment.

To a great extent, this reflects a growing frustration with the pace of arms control efforts. While most lawmakers continue to pay lip service to the freeze, they have voted for one new weapons system after another—leading many peace activists to conclude that pushing for legislation is fruitless unless popular attitudes about war and peace undergo a profound transformation. What is needed, they believe, is nothing less than a national consensus that nuclear arms—and war itself—are immoral and suicidal.

In building such a consensus, many activists are forgoing conventional political skills for the organiz-

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ing techniques—and spiritual outlook—of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

"Periodically in the history of our nation, generations have been called upon to redress a great wrong—among them slavery, the disenfranchisement of women, Hitler's Third Reich, and racial segregation," observes David Mixner, founder of the newly-organized PRO-Peace. "Now the time has come to redress another great wrong—the nuclear arms race."

Mixner is one of a growing number of activists who view the anti-nuclear struggle in terms not unlike a religious crusade. Indeed, many explicitly link nuclear disarmament to their religious views, and call on the Biblical imagery used so effectively by the New Right.

"Ever since the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, we have increasingly placed our trust in weapons of mass destruction rather than in God," wrote leaders of the August Desert Witness in a letter to other clergy. They call for a return to "faithfulness" based on nuclear disarmament. "We are called to reject the bomb and place our trust in the God of life."

Although no single organization or perspective dominates this new movement, several groups or tendencies seem to exemplify the new outlook. Prominent among them:

- PRO-Peace (People Reaching Out for Peace), based in Los Angeles, which is organizing a cross-country peace march of 5,000 volunteers to begin next March 1, and end 3,235 miles and nine months later. Completing this vast project, according to Mixner, will "show that people can make a difference, that we can end the arms race."
- Beyond War, a non-partisan educational effort based in Palo Alto, Ca., that seeks to "change our way of thinking about war." The group eschews formal political activity to concentrate on people-to-people education. Volunteers are encouraged to take a leave from their jobs or devote half-time to community-based organizing. A spokesperson says the group has about 400 full-time organizers in 17 states, and another 7,000 volunteers working part-time.
- The Nevada Desert Experience, a group of Franciscan monks and other religious activists who seek a halt to underground nuclear testing at the Nevada

(Please turn to page 44)

Beyond Ideology

We need to shift away from our current styles of politics. These tend to require, or prohibit, certain thoughts and actions. We have therefore reached a point where we are creating super-sophisticated answers to super-obsolete questions. For example, we are seeking more and more complex ways to preserve full employment at a time when the goal itself is infeasible and undesirable. A culture which concentrates on answers and responses forces people to act within a framework developed *for* them and deprives them of the capacity to make their own decisions.

Ideologies are even more oppressive. Their interlocked set of answers and policies forces conformity over all life. The stronger an ideology, the less it can tolerate diversity or understand the benefits of individual freedom. It is this process which ensures that both left-wing and right-wing beliefs develop uniformity.

The opposite of an ideological stance is *not*, as is normally thought, *another* ideology. The opposite of an ideology is understanding and communicating reality as fully and clearly as possible so that the critical questions can be more fully perceived. As we learn to understand realities more accurately, we can learn to act more effectively.

Providing people with answers or involving them with an ideology reduces freedom. The clearer the answer and the stronger the ideology, the less freedom an individual or a group has to make good choices. Today we must move in a profoundly new direction. We must enable people to discover, and create, reality. This will provide them with the ability to develop themselves and to help others to develop. —*Robert Theobald*

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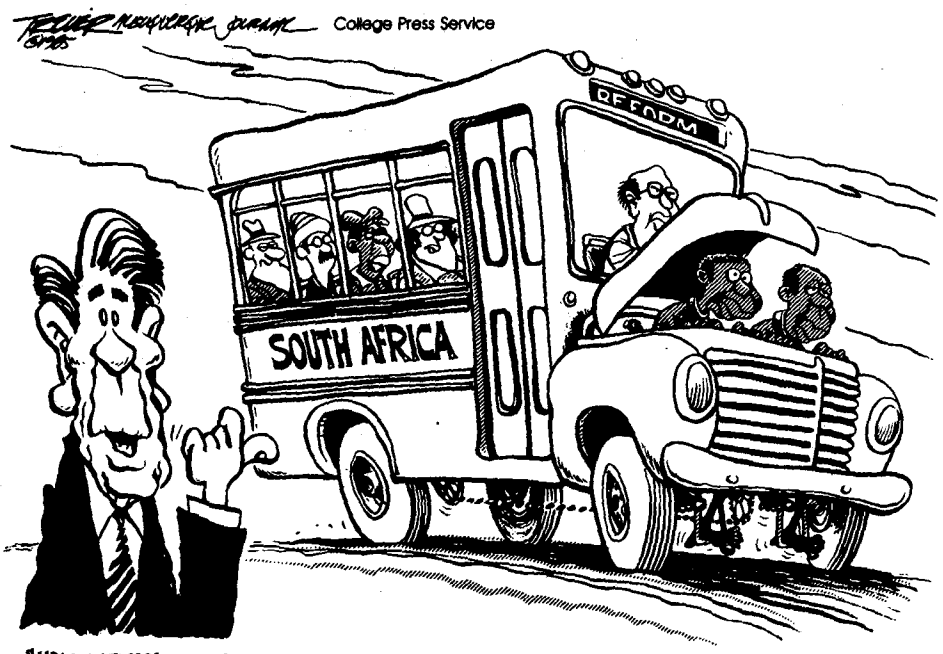

"HEY, LISTEN, THEY'RE MAKING REAL PROGRESS HERE! DO YOU SEE ANY BLACKS AT THE BACK OF THE BUS?"

Test Site. Participants have been holding periodic "witnesses" or vigils at the site since 1984.

Despite widely divergent methods and styles, these three endeavors have much in common—particularly an emphasis on the moral dimension and on the need to change public attitudes.

"The decision before us," says Stanford University Professor Martin Hellman of Beyond War, "is between the old mode of thinking and the new." The old mode sees that "war is acceptable" while the new holds that war is obsolete and immoral and that we must seek "creative alternatives instead of killing those we call our enemies."

On the same note, Mixner of PRO-Peace says, "It is wrong to place our planet in jeopardy. . .to steal the future away from the next generation. . .to even think about putting nuclear weapons in space." Overcoming this peril, he argues, will require effort and sacrifice "on the scale of the anti-slavery movement, of the war to defeat Hitler."

All these groups also emphasize the use of symbols.

"Technology has given us the ability to destroy the planet," notes Hellman. "But it has also given us a powerful symbol—the view of Earth from space." This lets us see Earth "as it really is: shining, fragile, and beautiful, one whole interdependent globe, with one life-support system." This image is the official symbol of Beyond War.

Imagery comes from the Bible rather than modern technology for Desert Experience. "The 40 years since Hiroshima," affirms Duncan MacMurdy, "remind us of the 40 years the Israelites wandered in the desert and the 40 days that Jesus spent in the desert before taking up his ministry."

In both cases, he explains, the desert sojourners had to resist temptation and choose a life-bringing course. "Similarly, after 40 years of the nuclear age, we too must make a choice—we must choose to make our world a life-filled world, a world that will stay around for our children."

Whether such images and tactics will prevail over more traditional peace activity, or touch the public in a significant way, cannot as yet be determined. But proponents of the new approach point to the poweful political impact of the anti-abortion movement—which also relies heavily on the use of primal images—and suggest that many pease activists have become disenchanted with legislative measures and arms-control negotiations.

Moreover, they point out that many older anti-nuclear groups had a mind-numbing preoccupation with nuclear devastation and say that, in contrast, theirs is a refreshing doctrine of hope, stressing the promise of a de-nuclearized world.

"Humanity has proven that it has the capacity to change," notes a Beyond War factsheet. "New knowledge and new technologies are emerging which will allow us to live together, to maintain the life support system of this planet, and to build a world beyond war."

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POLITICS

Did the elections of 1980 and 1984 signal a rejection of the principles of the New Deal and the Great Society? No, says Vicente Navarro in a fascinating article in the spring issue of Social Policy. Says Navarro, "All major polls in 1976-1980 (continuing to 1984) have shown vehement popular support for the core program of the New Deal (social security) with 92 to 96% opposing cuts in this program. Also, in 1979, 1980, and 1981, large majorities opposed cuts in federal aid programs benefitting the elderly, poor, and handicapped; in general health programs; and in federal aid to education. Moreover, large majorities were in favor of expanding rather than reducing government regulations to protect the health and safety of consumers, workers and the environment.

Further, Navarro points out that the percentage of individuals from union households, blacks, hispanics, Jews and unemployed (the core of the old liberal coalition) actually increased from 1980 to 1984. And the loss of the presidential election in 1984 was not matched by similar losses at the congressional, state and local level. As right-wing activist Richard Viguerie said at the time, "The 1984 election will rank amongst the all time greatest blunders in American politics because Reagan double crossed lower-level Reaganite candidates."

•

Ted Kennedy has given his support to the line-item veto. A Washington columnist quoted a Democratic observer as saying, "Kennedy is one of the very few in our party who believe the Democrats will control the White House again and that the line-item veto could make a strong Democratic president more effective."

•

Owen Bieber, president of the UAW, at a meeting last summer attacked mainstream Democrats last summer, calling them "gutless wonders" who are "abandoning us in droves." At the same

Based on the score cards of a number of progressive organizations here are the top-rated progressive senators up for re-election in 1986.

	National Womens Political Caucus	AFL-CIO	National Council of Senior Citizens	Americans for Democratic Action	Consumer Federation of America	Congress Watch	AVERAGE
Cranston	91	100	100	100	95	58	90.7
Leahy	100	90	100	95	83	58	87.7
Dodd	91	91	90	100	67	68	84.5
Bumpers	100	60	88	75	58	58	73.2
Inouye	73	100	100	85	50	25	72.2
Hollings	82	89	100	60	58	38	71.2
Hart	55	100	100	60	33	55	67.2
Ford	73	82	80	80	50	35	66.7

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EUGENE McCARTHY

Guide to Disarmament Talks

The great disarmament achievement under the Nixon Administration was contained in the agreement known as SALT I signed on April 26, 1972, well in advance of Nixon's run for re-election.

The agreement sets limits on the number of land-based and submarine-launched missiles the U.S. and the Soviets could have, limits well above what they already possessed. Both countries then moved to build to the maximums allowed by the treaty, and to build other weapons and weapon systems not covered by SALT I. The U.S. increased its emphasis on multiple warhead missiles, the multiple warheads making the number of missiles agreed to all but irrelevant.

The U.S. also proceeded to build the Trident submarines, to develop cruise missiles, and to consider the neutron bomb. The Soviets built new and larger missiles. They also developed and deployed their own multiple warhead system, and were reported to have made great strides in the development of laser weapons.

SALT I was not a disarmament agreement, but an agreement allowing further but somewhat limited arms build-ups. It allowed both countries to have more arms than they had when the agreement was made, but possibly fewer arms, of some kinds, than they would have had if the agreement had not been entered into.

In the Carter Administration a major disarmament conference was held in the summer of 1978. In anticipation of those talks, both the U.S. and the Soviets announced significant increases in military spending and in the arms build-ups. Both either claimed to have plans for new and sophisticated weapons of a higher order, or were accused of having such weapons. Both began actively peddling arms to client nations—the Russians primarily to African nations, the United States to the Middle East and to Southeastern Asia.

The 1978 disarmament conferences came to nothing and SALT II was not ratified by the Senate of the U.S. Meanwhile there had been no disarmament, but a further build-up of arms by both Russia and the United States and among their satellite countries.

Today, as out triple threat disarmament team—one dealing with heavy missiles and bombs, one with intermediate powers, and the other with minor or

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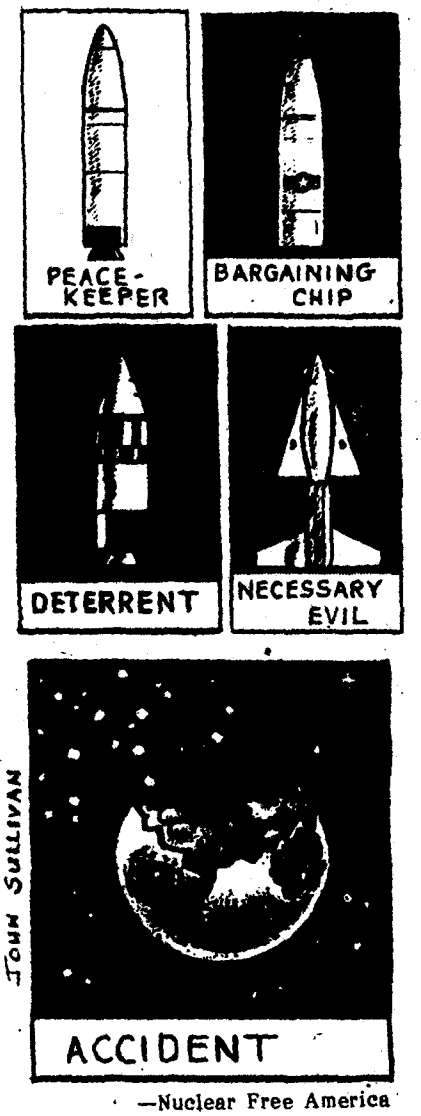

—Nuclear Free America

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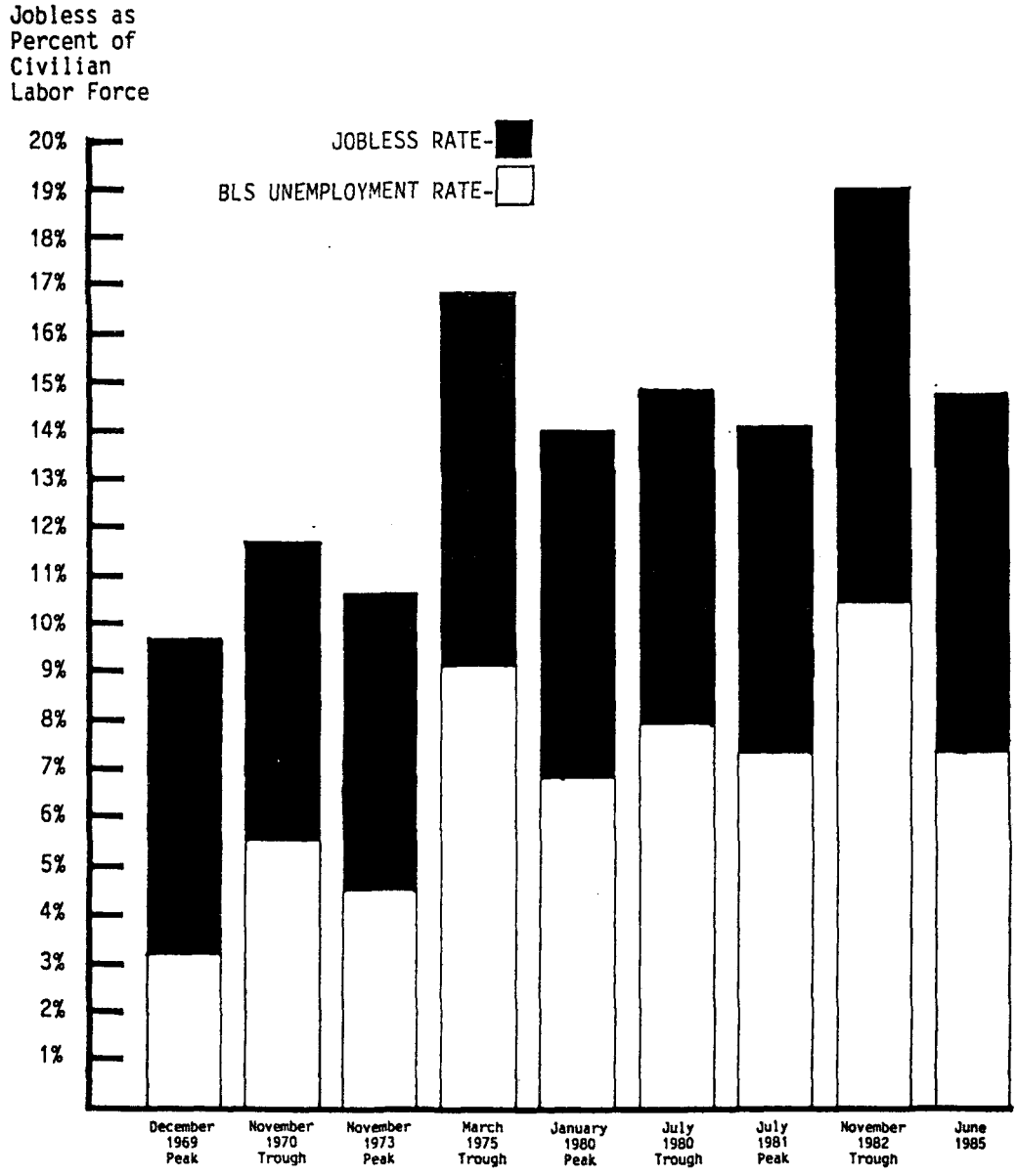
The Rise of Chronic Unemployment

Peaks and Trougns in the Business Cycle
1969 - 1985



This chart, prepared by the Council on International Affairs shows that despite fluctuations in the unemployment and jobless rates with changes in the business cycle, chronic joblessness has been creeping up since 1969. The white portion of the bar shows the unemployment rate as measured by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the black portion takes into account part-time workers, discouraged workers and others who say they want a job but have given up looking because they cannot find one.

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CHUCK STONE

Who'll Save the Children?

Two frightening pieces of information about black children were published back-to-back and few people raised any socially conscious eyebrows.

Most Americans have lived so long with the white dry rot of racial recidivism, they're comfortable with it.

They don't want to hear about the bad things happening to blacks when they read about the good things being accomplished by America's 267 black mayors.

It was the best of times, it was the worst of time. . . We had everything before us. We had nothing before us.

For black children, these are the worst of times. Many of them have nothing before them.

According to the Washington-based Children's Defense Fund report, "Black and White Children in America: Key Facts," black children are:

- Twice as likely as white children to die in the first year of life, live in substandard housing, have no parent employed and see a parent die.
- Three times as likely as white children to have their mothers die in childbirth, be placed in an educable retarded class, die of known child abuse and be murdered between the age of 5 and 9.
- Four times as likely as white children to live with neither parent, be supervised by a child welfare agency and be murdered before they are a year old.
- Five times as likely as white children to be dependent on welfare and become pregnant as teen-agers.

The day before the release of the CDF report, another study, "Student Aid and Public Education," prepared by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, revealed that the percentage of minorities receiving financial aid had dropped 12.4 percent during the past two years, compared to a national average of only 2.3 percent.

Combine the two reports, and the state of black youth is approaching a crisis of progress.

One trouble with the CDF report's analysis is its failure to separate the etiologies of genocide from racial suicide.

America as a racially-insensitive society—or at least, the grossly racist Reagan administration—can be faulted for the disproportionality of black children dying prematurely, living in substandard housing, having no parent employed and seeing their mothers die in childbirth.

But white racism does not cause the self-hate of black children being murdered between 5 and 9 years of age.

Nor has white racism encouraged black teen-agers to become pregnant.

Blacks may be forced to live in the slums, but blacks aren't forced to let the slums live inside them.

In the past 25 years, the black family structure has suffered a horrendous breakdown.

Why this black moral dry rot?

Why has the percentage of black babies born out of wedlock soared to a shocking 55 percent?

Why has the young black-dude mentality plunged to a lowlife inability to accept the fact that *If you make a baby, you are obligated to raise a child.*

Why do five times as many black teen-agers as white teen-agers become pregnant?

Why do young blacks murder themselves three times more frequently than white teen-agers kill themselves?

Why do three times more black children than white children die of known child abuse?

The answers to those questions must come from within the black community.

Black self-respect, black self-love and black self-help must be translated from the catharsis of slogans to the productivity of action.

But no black self-help efforts can accelerate economic and educational parity without some access to the majority's prosperity.

As long as institutionalized white racism is encouraged by the White House, progress will be constrained.

No American president has fought more ag-

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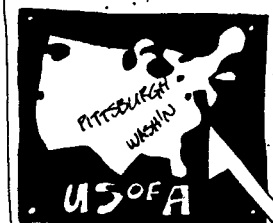
ARCHI-HORSE

A **CLICHE** IS AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME, BUT THEN IT JUST HANGS AROUND & WON'T LEAVE, SORT OF LIKE THE **ATRIUM** WON'T LEAVE ARCHITECTURE.

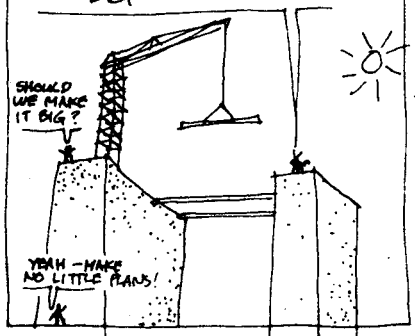
THE ATRIUM GOT A BOOST IN THE EARLY 1970'S WITH EFFORTS TO SAVE SUCH BUILDINGS AS **WASHINGTON**'S OLD POST OFFICE & **PITTSBURGH**'S P&LE. STATION.



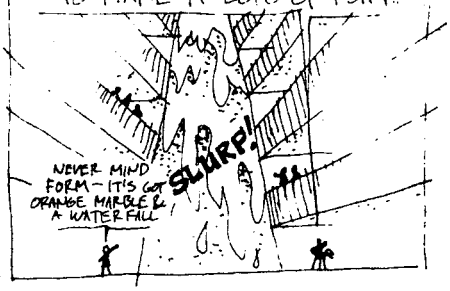
THE PRESERVATIONISTS SAID THESE WERE **HISTORIC BUILDINGS** & — BESIDES — THEIR VAST **ATRIA** COULD BE USED BY THE PUBLIC AGAIN...

THESE & OTHER OLD ATRIA WERE SAVED, & NOW THEY PROVIDE **BIG SUN-LIT SPACES** FOR SHOPS, CAFES, MUSIC & FOR JUST MILLING ABOUT...

THESE CAUGHT ON, & NOW **BIG BUILDINGS EVERYWHERE** HAVE BEEN PUT UP WITH BIG SUN-LIT SPACES...



A GREAT GAUDY ATRIUM WAS BUILT INTO **NEW YORK CITY**'S TRUMP TOWER — IT HASN'T MUCH FORM, BUT IT HAS ENOUGH SHOPS & CAFE TABLES TO MAKE IT LOTS OF FUN.

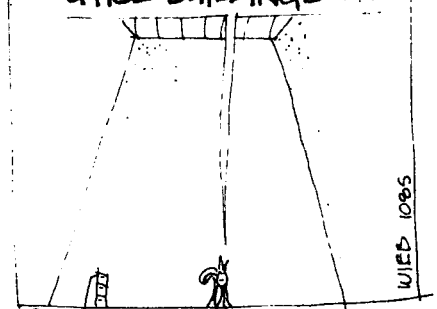


A CLASSIER ATRIUM WAS PUT UP IN **DENVER**'S TABOR CENTER WHICH HAS BROUGHT SPIRITED NEW ORDER — AS WELL AS SHOPS & CAFES — TO DENVER'S BIG, DULL DOWNTOWN...

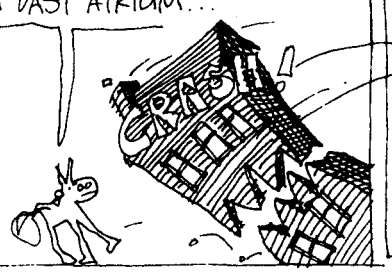
THESE OLD ATRIA & THEIR NEW COUNTERPARTS ALL HELP MAKE THEIR CITIES LIVLIER BY USING BIG SUN-LIT SPACES TO CELEBRATE & ENHANCE **MARKET PLACES**.

& THAT'S WHERE **PEOPLE** ARE.

BUT OTHER ATRIA HAVE BEEN BUILT THAT CELEBRATE ONLY LOBBIES & ENHANCE ONLY **FILE CABINETS**, BECAUSE THEY ARE DEEP WITHIN **OFFICE BUILDINGS**



ONE OF THESE WAS BUILT IN **WASHINGTON** BY THE CARR CO. & EQUITABLE LIFE, WHO HAD TO KNOCK DOWN THE OLD EBBITT GRILL & RHODES TAVERN TO GET ENOUGH SPACE FOR A VAST ATRIUM...



THESE LANDMARKS COULD HAVE BEEN KEPT AS PART OF A LIVELY **PUBLIC PLAZA OF HISTORY**, WERE IT NOT FOR PLAZAS BEING CLICHES OF THE **1960'S** & ATRIA BEING CLICHES OF **TODAY**.

THIS MEANT FILE CABINETS GOT A BETTER DEAL THAN HISTORY OR PEOPLE...

THE MORAL:

THERE'S NOTHING WRONG WITH USING CLICHES AS LONG AS YOU'RE SMART ENOUGH TO GET THE **RIGHT ONE**

THE END.

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CHARLES McDOWELL

High Tech Standard

There is a new coffee-making gadget at my house, and it turns itself on in the morning. When the alarm clock goes off a little later, I can wake up to the smell of fresh-brewed coffee. Sometimes this benevolence of high tech makes me fell so good and looked-after that I go back to sleep for an hour or so.

But usually I get up and sit at the kitchen counter with the marvelous coffee machine and read the paper. Doing that one recent morning, I felt communion with the crew of the space shuttle Discovery, which had returned to Earth after deploying three new satellites in space and fixing one that was already out there but on the blink. The wonder of it was that it was almost routine in the age of high tech.

As for me, I had set the digital timer on the coffee machine the night before, and I had set it tight and true, and now I was drinking the coffee. All of us are in the age of high tech together, although some of us date back to low tech and Lindberg.

We are all in it together, but some of us have to admit that we are less at home in it than others. To tell the truth, some of us easily could feel confused, inept and hardly a part of the remarkable rush of technological progress that we are living through. We just have to adapt to it as best we can, and try not to let high tech get us down.

My own capabilities as a high-technician end pretty much with the coffee machine. I know how to set its digital timer. Yet the digital timer on the videocasette recorder is at a level of technology I have not mastered.

I know how to record a program that is on the television while I am looking at it. In programming the thing to record a program in the future, I have been successful about 50 percent of the time. As for programming it to record two different programs in the future, I have never been successful. The thing will do it if you send it the right sequence of signals, and I have seen my wife succeed at it, but it is beyond my range.

To live with self-esteem in the high-tech era, each of us has to accept his or her range of capability. There are people who are confident about programming supercomputers to steer spaceships to the stars, and there are people whose confidence runs out somewhere between the coffee machine on the kitchen counter and the TV-recorder in the next room.

Let me return for a moment to TV-recorders. There was an item in the paper the other day saying their sales are increasing at some absolutely astonishing rate. Millions of them are being taken into American homes every month. Well, my hunch is that not half of the owners, probably fewer than that, have ever successfully set their TV-recorders for the future, remote-control recording of two separate programs. They use the things mostly to show movies or something on cassettes, anyway.

In stating my fairly comfortable resignation to ineptitude with high tech, I am not trying to identify with Robert Benchley's bemused bumblers of another age. My point is that high tech bewilders so many of us that we should not be thought of—or think of ourselves—as bumblers. I suspect we are the standard.

Some years ago, before I knew the phrase "high tech," I acquired an automatic, high tech watch. It was cheap. Its control button was to be pushed in a madly complex code to set seconds, minutes, days, months and years. The manufacturer, in Texas, gave a number to call for human help, and I called it.

The operator who answered guided me through the procedure in perhaps 15 minutes. She was friendly. I asked her if many people were so dumb they had to call Texas to set their watch.

"We have 12 operators taking these calls, on shifts, day and night," she said, "and we're always busy."

Richmond Times-Dispatch

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Stone

gressively than Ronald Reagan to strip black Americans of their dignity.

No American president has arrayed the full powers of his administration more efficiently to return this nation to *Plessy vs. Ferguson's* "separate but equal" than Ronald Reagan.

No American president has initiated policies that have snatched more food out of black babies' mouths, caused the disproportionately greater number of black mother's deaths and forced more black families into poverty than Ronald Reagan.

Even as blacks engage the amorphous enemy, white racism, in dubious battle, they still must confront their moral faults and educational deficiencies.

Blacks must find an antidote to their abysmal performance on standardized tests, a performance that may be partly caused by white racism. But what about the other part?

How do we explain the failure of 60.6 percent of the black students at five Virginia black colleges who took the state teachers' test, compared to only 7.7 percent at the state's 34 other institutions?

The Educational Testing Service is still one of America's most formidable obstacles to racial equality, and minorities must never cease their efforts to reduce its octopal stranglehold on American education.

But ETS tests do not solely explain the black children's awesome differential of performance in school.

When I look at the world, it fills me with sorrow.
Little children today are going to suffer tomorrow.
Save the babies.
Save the children.
Let's save all the babies. . .

I don't care how many national reports are published, the responsibility for saving black children must begin with black families and then expand with white friends.

We've got to save the children—because Ronald Reagan damned sure won't.

Philadelphia Daily News

Idea mill

in the last 18 months. The center sends badly needed medical and dental supplies (everything from aspirin and surgical gloves to X-ray equipment) and educational materials (pens, paper, chalkboards, recreational supplies, etc.) to Managua once a month. They publish an informative free tabloid, "Medical Aid for Nicaragua." Contributions and equipment may be sent to PO Box 5206, Hyattsville, MD 20782; phone 699-0042.

Bikes Not Bombs is an effort which has sent over 100 bicycles to Nicaragua through AFSC and Oxfam. Call 301-965-2786 for more information.

Ambulances for Nicaragua is an effort by veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to send four-wheel drive ambulances to Nicaragua. Ambulances have become a primary contra target; the shortage of these life saving vehicles is critical. Contact Ambulances for Nicaragua, 3971½ Beethoven Street, Los Angeles, CA 90066. —*Washington Peace Center*

McCarthy

incidental arms—confers, it goes strengthened, supposedly, by the fact that the United States' defense budget has reached new highs.

THE MX MISSILE has been approved. The Star Wars project is on the drawing board, if not beyond. Agreements to deploy cruise missiles have been reached with Belgium and at least tentatively with West Germany. A presidential task force has recommended the production of instruments of chemical warfare.

American arms are being supplied to Afghanistan and to Central America, and the president and the Prime Minister of Canada have promised the reactivation of the Dew Line early warning system across Alaska and Northern Canada (a system first installed in the 1950's to warn of the approach of Russian bombers, and now intended to warn of the coming of Russian cruise missiles).

The record shows that, as a rule, what is taken to arms conferences under the name of bargaining chip becomes, subsequently—whether the arms conference is a success or a failure—a permanent part of the weapons system of the country that brought the chip to the table.

The story of disarmament conforms closely to the Biblical report of the driving out of the evil spirit, in which the one spirit, having been driven out, is replaced by five others—all worse than the first, so that the final state of the person becomes worse than the first.

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A federal court ruled on August 23rd that the Federal Communications Commission could not give special treatment to women seeking to become radio station owners.

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People

Laurie Duker has been named political director of SANE. Duker joined SANE in 1982 and became the staff director in 1984.

Eleanor Smeal has become the new president of the National Organization for Women, defeating incumbent **Judy Goldsmith** in a heated election that centered on Smeal's contention that the organization should take a more confrontational approach than it had under Goldsmith. Goldsmith, meanwhile, is considering a run for Congress.

Nanette Falkenberg has resigned as director of the National Abortion Rights Action League after serving in the post for four years.

Politics

conclave, Texas agricultural commissioner Jim Hightower said the Democrats, instead of "hunkering down in the middle of the road," should be appealing to "anti-establishment malcontents who don't like the big boys in business, in banking, the government or the press. They're radical in their belief that equality of opportunity requires real decentralization of power. . . They can be ours if we go after them"

Nuclear

order, but the silent spread of radiation threatens us with the slow death of disease and genetic destruction.

The Department of Energy claims that most research rebuts the possibility that present nuclear policies are damaging future generations. Most of that research is controlled by the DOE—the world's most successful proponent of nuclear weapons and energy outside the Soviet Union.

While scientists and bureaucrats continue to discuss the effects of radiation, the public must accept on faith DOE's claims that nuclear weapons programs are not undermining the *health* of the nation they are supposed to defend.

But there is reason to ask if a nation can defend itself with nuclear weapons without first perpetrating a deadly sinister crime against itself.

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One person in 50 is eligible to join the high IQ Mensa Society. But even they stand in awe of the "Mega Society." Only one person in a million is smart enough to be a member. So far, just 26 people have been able to pass the admission test. Ready for one of the questions? "If 27 identical cubical chunks of cheese are piled together to form a cubical stack, what is the maximum number of these cheese chunks through which a mouse of negligible size could munch before exiting the stack, assuming that the mouse always travels along the grid of 27 straight lines that pass through the centers of the chunks parallel to their sides, always makes a 90-degree turn at the center of each chunk and never enters any chunk more than once?"

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OUR BOOKSHELF

FLOTSAM & JETSAM: Our 15th anniversary issue. A book length collection of essays by editor Sam Smith. Topics cover a wide field inclduing trains, England, music, home computers, football, the humanities, pumping iron, Benjamin Franklin, corruption, ghostwriters, turning forty, Martin Luther King and words & meaning. If you have enjoyed the Review, we believe you will find this collection appealing. $2.00

SELF-RELIANT CITIES: An important book by David Morris, director of the Institute for Local Self Reliance. A look at how energy has transformed the American kcity, from self:sufficient frontier villages based on human and animal power, to industrial towns built by hydro and steam, to our present far-flung and energy-dependent metropolises, products of automobiles and cheap transmission of electricity. Morris explains how soaring energy costs have forced cities to redefine themselves as nations, linking production and consumtption moe closely to retain capital in the local community. Self-Reliant Cities desribes dozens of cities that are already using their municipal authority to finance and regulate decentralized, renewable energy systems. $8.95

NEIGHBORHOOD POWER: THE NEW LOCALISM: Shows how a potentially self-reliant community moves from the initial stages of community awareness and organization to the creation of service networks and, finally, to the development of neighborhood governments. The first book to make the case for urban self-reliance. $5.95

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THE PORTABLE JUNG: In making this selection from the vast body of Carl Jung's writings, Joseph Campbell has aimed to introduce the elementary terms and themes of analytical psychology, provide and overall understanding of the scope and direction of Jung's works and enable readers to grasp the bearing of mythic lore upon their own psyches. $6.95.

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DC BOOKSHELF

THE VIEW FROM RAPPAHANNOCK. By Eugene J. McCarthy. Piedmonth Virginia where the former Senator and regular contributor to the Review now parks his boots -- and writes about them -- is fine country to reflect in. His corner of it, Rappahannock County, is about as remote as you can get and still be near some place (Washington, DC). Close up to the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains, Rappahannock County has no towns of consequence, no industry, no important civic monuments and very few people. It's delightful country. McCarthy loves it, and readers will share his affection. Generation of British essayists have written to us about their dogs; junting wild mushrooms; the weather; the poetry of living in cranky old houses. McCarthy scratches his dog as they did; lives in one of their houses. His vignettes are a perfect meal. There aren't too many, they are perfectly seasoned, and an hour later you're hungry for more. $9.95.

SECRET CITY: Constance Green's history of black Washington. A highly readable trip through the city's black past. $9.95.

FOOTNOTE WASHINGTON: Bryson rash, who broadcast news and commentary here for more that 40 years, has compiled a collection of sidebar stories about Washington that you'll love to read and then buy more copies as gifts. Find out why the city has no J Street; where you can find a 130-year-old elevator still in operation, and which equestrian statue in the city underwent a sex change operation, plus much more. $7.95

GOING PLACES WITH CHILDREN

This 10th edition of Washington's baedeker for juniors is now being used to shepherd offspring of parents who themselves attended Green Acres School. The current parent body has updated their 22-year-old guide to include the newest of 400 things for kids to see and do in the capital. $4.95

THE FIRST WOMEN WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENTS. Tells the story of women who early broke the sex barrier to cover the capital city, beginning with Jane Grey Swisshelm who won a seat in the Senate Press Gallery in 1850 despite a warning from Vice President Fillmore that "the place would be very unpleasant for a lady." $2.00

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